The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 8, 1891.

The Week.

THE war with Great Britain which was declared by one of our morning contemporaries on Monday, and the news of which, when cabled to London, caused much consternation there, has come to a sudden end. The British Foreign Office authorizes the statement that there is no such war, and now the President sends to Congress the latest correspondence with Great Britain on the Bering Sea question, and all of it up to January 5, 1891. It consists of only two despatches, one from Lord Salisbury, dated August 2, 1890, and a reply from Mr. Blaine, dated December 17. The text of Lord Salisbury's communication occupies fifteen printed pages. Mr. Blaine's fills thirty-seven. If the strength were in proportion to length, Mr. Blaine's paper would be two and one-half times more powerful than the one he replies to. Its repellent force will be found to be even greater than that by those who attempt to comprehend it at one sitting. But it has one great merit in that it formally abandons the *mare clausum* doctrine as applied to Bering Sea, and substitutes for it some general considerations respecting the preservation of the fur seal from extermination which were laid down by Minister Phelps on the 12th of September, 1888. In other words, Mr. Blaine has got back to the place of beginning. He has boxed the compass, and is now ready to take up the subject where Mr. Bayard left off. He now says: "The repeated assertions that the Government of the United States demands that Bering Sea be pronounced *mare clausum* are without foundation. The Government has never claimed it and never desired it. It expressly disavows it."

"What has the long-winded controversy been about, then?" the public may ask. Reference to Mr. Blaine's letter of June 30, last year, supplies a sort of answer to this query. It would seem that he draws a distinction between *mare clausum* and the alleged right of exclusive jurisdiction over a space of one hundred miles from any coast or island belonging to us, this distance being fixed in the ukase of Alexander I. of Russia dated September 4, 1821. Mr. Blaine is well aware that international law knows nothing of the Emperor Alexander's ukase or of any local regulations touching the high seas, and that it prescribes one marine league as the limit of territorial waters which are not strictly *mare clausum*. So he seeks an *argumentum ad hominem* against Lord Salisbury by citing a British statute which forbade a vessel "hovering" within eight leagues of the island of St. Helena while Napoleon Bonaparte was confined as a prisoner there. What would have happened if any vessel not British had been caught "hovering" in that place would have been something like this: it would have been brought in as a prize to a British admiralty court, and when the fact was established that it was on the high seas and was not a ship subject to British jurisdiction, it would have been discharged, and the Government of the country to which it belonged would have had a perfectly valid claim for compensation. The upshot of the correspondence is, that we are not only not near a war with England, but rather further from it than before. Whether we are any nearer a settlement of the dispute is not so clear.

The taking up of the Finance Bill by the Senate, in preference to going on with the Force Bill, does not indicate in any way the passage of the former measure. Still less does it look to the passage of Senator Stewart's amendment for the free coinage of silver. Votes were cast for the motion to take up the Finance Bill merely because it shelved the Force Bill, and on the other hand votes were cast against taking up the Finance Bill which would have been cast against the Force Bill if the question had been on the passage of the latter measure. The setting aside of the Force Bill has split the Republican party in the Senate, if not in the country at large. Consequently, we may expect the twenty-nine Senators who have been voted down by the eight bolters and the twenty-six Democrats to be particularly alert and determined to defeat what they consider a treasonable coalition. The prospect is that there will be no financial legislation at all at this session. In addition to all other obstacles, the lateness of the period at which the measure is reached, and the necessity of passing the appropriation bills before the 4th of March in order to avoid an extra session with the terrible Democratic majority of the next Congress, will conspire to prevent any decisive action on the bill. There are, in fact, several Senators who habitually lash their sides and paw up the earth for silver, who will favor postponement whenever they can do so by indirection.

Gen. Miles, who is probably as competent to speak on the Indian question as any man living, has a very instructive article on the subject in the last *North American Review*, which we commend to the perusal of everybody who is afflicted by the reports of slaughter and terror which have been reaching us every morning from South Dakota during the last few days. A worse system than our Indian system for the civilization of savages—that is, their maintenance at the public expense as armed and mounted paupers—could hardly be devised, even if it were well administered. But it is not well administered. The agencies are made part of the spoils of office, and their distribution forms one of the steadily recurring scandals of each Administration. Not only are they bestowed nearly every four years on new and inexperienced men, but they are apt to be bestowed on men who have failed in the ordinary pursuits of civilization, or have never turned their attention to any industry but electioneering. And yet the proper charge of a great Indian agency probably requires a rarer combination of talents and attainments than any of the non-professional subordinate offices of the Government. It calls not only for character good enough to bear removal from public observation, but for business capacity, for tact, patience, self-control, and capacity for command and for teaching the ignorant and the dull. That such qualifications are hardly ever thought of in appointing Indian agents we need hardly say. There is, in fact, a mass of literature devoted to the exposure of abuses caused by the incapacity or dishonesty of Indian agents. The story of every Indian trouble begins with some account of the sins, negligences, and ignorances of the agencies. There is a touch of humor given to the tragedy, too, by the arguments, constantly employed by politicians who want the agencies as spoils, that it will not do to intrust the care of the Indians to hard, cold, unfeeling men of war like the army officers; that it is only from old "heelers" and "workers" that these untutored men can get the tender and watchful care which their unhappy situation calls for.

Gen. Miles's article shows that the notion that the danger of Indian outbreaks has been removed by the disappearance of the buffalo is a great mistake. The place of the buffalo as sustenance for roving bands of rebellious warriors has been taken by the cattle of the settlers. Warriors can now maintain themselves fully as well over a vast range of country by raids on the white man's cows as they ever could by the slaughter of the buffalo herds. The Indian is, too, every year supplied with the latest and best firearms, so that the more civilization closes in about him, the more dangerous he becomes. In fact, the time has come for a radical change in our Indian policy, not on grounds of humanity simply, but as a measure of protection for the great civilized communities which are growing up around the Indians. The savages must either be civilized or extirpated. To be civilized they must be protected, and they cannot be protected by the instrumentalities we now employ for that purpose. We had hoped that when a really religious man like Gen. Harrison got into the Presidential chair, the moral aspect of the Indian question would make a deep impression on him and profit by his spiritual culture.

Of all the lobby forces ever congregated at Washington to promote indefensible measures and robbery of the public Treasury, those which have been precipitated upon Congress to promote steamship subsidies have been the most shameless and persistent and cor-

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rupting. The motive power of this lobby comes this time from Mr. H. K. Thurber's Brazil Steamship Company, with some help, perhaps, from the Pacific Mail Company. Mr. Thurber is one of the patriots who distinguished themselves by peddling forged quotations from English newspapers during the last Presidential campaign. The Pacific Mail Company would probably have been content to rest upon its laurels and leave Congress alone, if the allurement of a subsidy had not been dangled before its eyes by the pernicious activity of the Brazil interest. The Subsidy Bill comes up in the House as the first business after the holidays. It contains a flagrant untruth in its title, which recites that it is a bill to put the American merchant marine on an equality with that of other nations. Equality with what nations? If all the maritime countries of Europe were paying subsidies and bounties to shipping of the same kind and amount as this bill calls for, it would still be for the friends of the measure to show two things: first, that it is right and expedient and just to their taxpayers under their several circumstances to do so; second, that our circumstances are the same as theirs. Neither of these things has been proved, nor has it been proved, except in the case of France, that such subsidies and bounties are paid. France does tax the farmer and the wagon-driver to pay the shipbuilder and the ship-owner, but with most discouraging results so far as the promotion of commerce goes. French ships are built and sailed for the bounty, rather than for the trade, and so it will be here if the bill has any effect at all beyond the putting of money into the treasuries of the Brazil and Pacific Mail Companies. The English Post-office pays a fair compensation for actual transportation of the mails, and to this there is no objection. Norway, which comes next as a maritime country, pays nothing. Germany pays nothing that can be called a subsidy. What is paid by Italy or Spain or other third-rate shipping Powers is of no consequence to us, since we are not seeking to emulate them. They are not the countries referred to in the title of the pending bill.

This measure seeks to bind the Government to annual cash payments of unknown amounts for twenty consecutive years. The crowding of such a bill through a Congress discredited and beaten as the present one is, can only be regarded as the last desperate resort of men who have only a few days left to work the Treasury in. They know very well that the people have pronounced against them in tones of thunder. They know that the Congress elected two months ago would reject such a measure by a two-thirds vote, because the people themselves would reject it if they had the opportunity to pass upon it. Both parties in the West are at heart opposed to it. The man who drives his canvas-covered "prairie schooner" over the plains of the Dakotas without Government aid will not be easily reconciled to the doling of his money out to ship-owners of the Atlantic seaboard under any kind of pretence. He ought not to be. The man who ploughs the land is as much entitled to bounties as the one who ploughs the sea.

There is nothing surprising in the report which comes from Ohio, that there is much less talk than heretofore among Republicans in that State about making Mr. McKinley their candidate for Governor next fall. The impression is gaining ground, even in Ohio, that the task of educating the people to a proper conception of the beauties of the McKinley tariff is a very arduous one. Instead of liking the tariff better the more they see of it, experience appears to have quite the contrary effect. At the present rate of progress, two years, Mr. McKinley's own limit, will be entirely too short a period in which to convince anything like a majority of the voters of the country that high prices are good for them and low prices "nasty" and degrading. As less than one year intervenes between the present popular ignorance and the next Ohio election, Mr. McKinley himself would probably admit that he ought not to attempt to force the issue by running for Governor this year. By the time the Presidential year comes round, his limit will have expired so nearly that he may be willing to take a Presidential nomination. If he consents to allow the Republicans to nominate him, we venture to predict that the Democrats will do nothing to interfere with the programme.

The farmers of Minnesota have got their heads cleared of the protection humbug if the resolution of the Alliance may be taken as an expression of their aggregate opinion. They adopted the following resolution at their Convention at St. Paul on Thursday:

"We demand that the war tariff, which has too long survived the object of its creation, shall be radically revised, giving very material reductions in the necessaries of life, and placing raw material on the free list, to the end that we may compete with the world for a market, and that such luxuries as whiskey and tobacco shall in no measure be relieved from internal taxation till the high protective tariff has been wholly rid of its extortions; and we especially denounce the McKinley Bill as the crowning infamy of protection."

Where, we should like to know, were those working farmers Delano, Harpster, and Lawrence when this resolution, with its demand for free raw materials, such as wool and goat's hair, was under consideration? And where were Uncle Jerry Rusk, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, and Statistician Dodge, the farmers' guide, philosopher, and friend?

A new kind of Republican club is starting up in Massachusetts, which takes for its creed on the tariff question the following resolution:

"(2.) We believe in a protective tariff that shall impose duties where they are needed, *and only where needed*, to equalize the labor cost of production and to develop American resources and American commerce, but not to relieve favored corporations or individuals from foreign competition."

This is not McKinleyism. It is the kind of Republicanism represented by the Chicago *Tribune*, the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, the Omaha *Bee*, the Keokuk *Gate City*, etc., in the West. It has one representative journal in Boston, however, in the *Transcript*, which says:

"The McKinley prices for all household supplies, from dry goods to provisions, are the true educators of the people on the tariff question, and ex-Congressmen are not needed to instruct them. The lesson is a severe one, and its severity is daily increasing, but it is getting in some most important work for the good of the country.'

Apropos of Mr. Henry C. Lea's hopeful view, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, of the improving effect on the Republican party of its late reverses, on which we recently commented, it will be remembered that he said among other things that the Pennsylvania election had delivered the party "from the grotesque spectacle of the predominance in such a party of a man like Quay." But has it? We find in the *Ledger* of January 3 the following account of the visit of "such a man" to Philadelphia on New Year's Day:

"He was visited yesterday at the Continental Hotel by many political workers, including friends of Bromley Wharton, who have been active in their support of that gentleman for appointment as Magistrate, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Magistrate Smith.

"The delegation included Surveyor of the Port John J. Ridgway, J. Edward Carpenter, Richard M. Cadwalader, Frederick M. Bissel, E. C. Knight, jr., Lewis H. Redner, G. Heide Norris, Dr. James F. Hayes, E. Waterman Dwight, John S. Forbes, George Q. Horwitz, Samuel T. Pemberton, Hobart Miller, and Frank E. Bond.

"They assured the Senator that the sentiment which demanded the reëlection of Councilman Etting was equally strong in favor of Mr. Wharton, and that this sentiment should be recognized in the appointment.

"The delegation received an assurance from Senator Quay that he appreciated the position of affairs, and was anxious that the person appointed should be of irreproachable character, so that there might be no friction when the time came to select the appointee."

There is much richness in this, particularly in the character of the members of the delegation—all highly respectable and some belonging to old Philadelphia families; and in Quay's anxiety that the appointee should be a man of "irreproachable character." Quay is said to be a wag; if so, he must be having lots of fun just now.

The Buffalo *Courier* and the Plattsburgh *Republican* are having a joint debate on the fitness of Mr. Smith Weed to represent the Democrats of New York in the United States Senate, especially in his character as a supporter of the present tariff of 75 cents per ton on iron ore. The Plattsburgh paper, which supports Mr. Weed's claims, made the erratic statement that "far more labor in proportion to capital invested is required in the production of iron ore than in any other branch of iron manufacture." This certainly has a suspicious ring. It sounds like all the unprincipled rubbish which the McKinley Bill is composed of. But the *Courier* meets it with a quotation from the testimony of Abram S. Hewitt before the Tariff Commission of 1882, in these words:

"In New Jersey, where I am a miner of magnetic ores on a large scale, and in Pennsylvania, there is not a pound of ore—and I mine at least 100,000 tons—that is not put on the cars for less money than the freight from Africa and Spain to New York. This freight alone *is more than it costs me to dig my ore and pay* $1.50 *a day.*"

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This means that if the labor of mining iron ore in Spain and Africa cost nothing at all, the freight charges would be ample protection to the American miner without any tariff duty whatever. Now, if Mr. Weed and the Plattsburgh *Republican* cannot controvert Mr. Hewitt on this point, the less they say about Labor, the better for themselves.

The *Tribune's* Albany correspondent throws some light on the Senatorial contest. "The election of Smith M. Weed," he says, "a protection Democrat, as Senator from New York State, it is said, was strongly pressed upon Gov. Hill by Senator Gorman as one means of allaying the alarm of manufacturers at the prospective coming into power of the Democratic party, and also as showing these men that Gov. Hill is not a free-trader, like Grover Cleveland." It may well be doubted whether so shrewd a politician as Senator Gorman has shown his hand in the politics of New York on either side, but it is well known that his leanings have heretofore been towards the "protection Democrats." There are a few of these still extant, here and there, but Mr. Gorman will be the only one remaining in the Senate after the retirement of Mr. Payne of Ohio. It is for the Democrats of New York to decide whether they want to perpetuate the variety by sending Mr. Weed to Washington to take Mr. Payne's vacant place as a Senator out of harmony with nine-tenths of his party. Any Democrat who is concerned to "allay the alarm of the manufacturers" had best join the Republicans at once and give in his adhesion to the McKinley Bill.

According to the Albany correspondence of the *Times*, Tammany has sent two advance agents to the Governor demanding practical control of the incoming Legislature through its committee chairmen and clerks. Both Tammany and the Democratic machine in Brooklyn have, it is said, demanded more chairmanships, clerkships, and other minor positions than there are in the gift of the Assembly. There is nothing improbable in these reports. The Tammany appetite, always large, has been stimulated beyond all bounds by the recent victory at the polls, and it long ago became evident that this city alone would not be able to give it complete satisfaction, though extraordinary efforts have begun to be made to that end. Salaries are being increased in many instances, larger appropriations have been made for nearly or quite all of the municipal departments, every newly elected official has been compelled to distribute the subordinate offices within his gift as Tammany dictates, and it will be found, as time goes on, that the number of "places" will be steadily multiplied throughout all branches of the service. As for the demands on the Governor both from this city and from Brooklyn, it is natural that they should be made, for his following is composed exclusively of the kind of men who expect to be paid for their support at the public expense.

In the current *North American Review* the "Scholar in Politics" engages Statistics, that "modest handmaid of political science," to teach the American people how to deal with the problem of immigration. He has found in some official returns the following figures, in which the immigrants for the years 1873 to 1886 are classified:

Professional	31,803
Skilled	587,349
Miscellaneous	2,052,294
Occupations not stated	128,782
Without occupations	2,596,188

Mr. Lodge is much terrified by the great number returned under the last head, and thus comments upon the untoward circumstance: "Throwing out those immigrants with occupations not stated, it appears that, of all the vast immigration during those fourteen years, nearly one-half are persons avowedly without occupation or training, or, in other words, unskilled labor of the lowest kind, while professional and skilled labor amounts to nearly 11.49 per cent. of the whole. 'Miscellaneous,' which is neither skilled nor professional labor, amounts to 38 per cent." Further on, he finds indications that of late years this dangerous class of persons "without occupation" has "slightly increased" in proportion to the whole number of arrivals, and concludes that we have here one of the reasons why America should close the wide doors heretofore opened for newcomers from all parts of the world, and open a little postern only for the élite of mankind. Now, whatever grounds there may be for notifying Europe, as we have already notified Asia, that we want no more of her surplus millions, the 2,600,000 persons "without occupation" do not furnish any; for these persons are simply the *wives and children* of the adult men whom they accompany or follow. That only 48.1 per cent. of the immigrants are thus classified, instead of 60 or 65, shows that much of the immigration—say one-fourth of it—does not come in family groups, but is made up of young men and young women seeking to better only their own fortunes.

The *Engineering News* publishes statistics of railway-building during the past year which show that 5,981 miles were added during the twelve months—viz., 3,181 miles in the South and Southwest, and 2,800 miles elsewhere. The Northwestern section (Minnesota to Montana) had 991 miles, the Pacific States, including Utah, 696, the Northern Central States (Ohio to Wisconsin) 693, the Middle Atlantic States 328, and New England 92 miles. The year's work brings the total mileage in the United States to 167,255, or more than sufficient to span the world six times. Hitherto the business prosperity of the country has been intimately associated with new railway construction. The building and equipping of new lines puts countless wheels in motion, and provides employment for capital and labor in a great variety of forms and places. The work is nowhere near completion. It will go on for many years, and even after the country is laced with as many lines as the traffic will support, the work of improving the existing roads will call for very large outlays, as is the case in old England and in New England at the present time. But the heyday of railroad-building in our own country is past. There is much undeveloped territory still in the Northwest, much in the South, and there are spots all over the Union which will bear some further elaboration. But the great distances have been spanned, and the wide expanses of fertile soil and valuable timber have been pretty well covered, so that we must look eventually, and at no very distant day, beyond our own borders for the profitable employment of surplus capital which has heretofore been absorbed in new railway construction.

The establishment of savings banks in the South is a noteworthy evidence of progress in that part of the country. Such institutions have been almost unknown there, and the absence of secure repositories for savings has been a great obstacle to the development of thrift. Memphis has been one of the first among Southern cities to realize their importance, and they have multiplied within the past two years until there are now seven. The fact is both the cause and result of the fortunate condition of the city as thus described by the *Appeal-Avalanche*: "Memphis is remarkable for its peace and good order. At night the streets are quiet. The average man prefers to spend his evenings at home. During the day groups of loiterers are rarely seen. Everybody seems to be at work. There is no lack of employment. In all quarters of the city scores of new residences, valued at from $2,000 to $5,000, have been built within the past two years, or are in course of erection. These structures are the work, in large measure, of men and women of moderate means. To them, and to those who wish to build homes at a future time, the savings banks are essential." The negro has suffered perhaps more than the white from the almost entire absence of savings institutions in the South. Thrift was the first lesson which a race just entering upon freedom needed to learn. It is not too much to say that the failure of the Freedman's Bank was the greatest misfortune the negroes have suffered since emancipation, for it was calculated to destroy the virtue of thrift just as it was beginning to develop. Practically it put the race back in this respect fully twenty years, for the bad effects have been felt down to the present day.

R. G. Dun & Co.'s tables of mercantile failures in the United States for 1890 foot up 10,882, with liabilities of $189,856,964, as against 10,679 with liabilities of $148,784,337 the previous year. The showing is by no means unfavorable when compared with the years 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1884, all of which showed a larger aggregate of liabilities of failed firms. The failures of the year 1857 exceeded those of 1890 by $2,000,000, although the amount of capital invested then was probably not more than one-third what it is at present.

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"DEATH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY."

By the votes of eight Republican Senators uniting with the Democrats, the Force Bill was on Monday set aside in the Senate. The shelving of the measure is universally regarded as equivalent to its rejection, and even Senator Hoar admitted that it would be useless to press it further.

This result is occasion for hearty rejoicing on the part of all patriotic citizens, North and South, and congratulations should be extended to the Republicans who brought it about—Messrs. Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Washburn of Minnesota, Stewart and Jones of Nevada, McConnell and Shoup of Idaho, and Stanford of California. It is an ideal retribution upon Republican Bourbons of the Hoar school that the two new Senators from Idaho, who had been admitted before the Territory was qualified to become a State, in order that they might help to impose radical legislation upon the country, should have cast their first votes on the other side.

The significance of the result will appear more clearly as time passes. Senator Hoar, extraordinary as it may seem, perceived it instantly, and stated it clearly. "Five minutes after the vote was taken which announced the death of the Force Bill," says the correspondent of the *Sun*, "the Massachusetts Senator walked down the marble steps leading to the restaurant, and, in answer to the query of a friend, said in an emphatic and solemn manner, 'That means the death of the Republican party.'"

In truth, the Force Bill scheme was the last rational attempt which is possible to maintain the theory that "the mission of the Republican party" is not yet fulfilled. That party was organized for a single purpose—to resist the aggressions of slavery. Its first national convention, in 1856, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed "to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson." The second national platform, adopted in 1860, began with a declaration that "the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph."

From 1856 to 1888 the Republican party continued a political organization primarily devoted to issues growing out of slavery. For the first half of the period it really had a "mission." Before the war it was necessary to restrict the progress of slavery. When, through the war, slavery had been abolished, it remained to pass the constitutional amendments which made the black man the equal of the white before the laws of the land. That done, the work of the Republican party as it was organized in 1856 was completed. But its managers had found the slavery issue so profitable that they sought to perpetuate it. When the party came into power for the second time in 1889, it was on a platform which proposed two important policies growing out of the slavery issue, both of which were contrary to all the traditions and precedents of our history during the century from Washington to Harrison.

One of these policies proposed that the Federal Government should assume control of the schools in the States, by making appropriations from the Treasury at Washington for distribution among them, supervision necessarily following the appropriation. The other proposed that the Federal Government should assume control of the elections for Congressmen in the States, such control necessarily involving interference with the supervision by State authorities of the State elections held at the same time. Both of these measures were advocated expressly in behalf of the negroes, and as essential sequels to their emancipation. The Blair Bill was urged on the plea that the Southern States would not educate the blacks, and that consequently the Federal Government must interfere; the Lodge-Hoar scheme on the plea that the Southern States would not give the blacks fair elections, and that consequently the Federal Government must interfere.

The first of these policies was rejected last March, by reason of the defection of a number of Republican Senators. The other was rejected on Monday, by reason again of the defection of a number of Republican Senators. In each case Republican Senators rejected fundamental principles of the last Republican national platform, and declared their conviction that the Democratic party was right in opposing those principles. The eight recalcitrants of Monday voted against the principle which was set down as first and chief in the resolutions adopted at Chicago in 1888.

Moreover, it is well known that the open opposition to the Force Bill in the Senate represented only a small part of the actual desire for its defeat on the Republican side. What is still more important, the opposition in the Senate, both open and secret, does not equal the opposition among Republicans throughout the country as their views find expression in the party press. In other words, a large proportion of those who have called themselves Republicans are against a policy the enforcement of which the last national platform declared to be the chief reason for the party's existence. Under these circumstances Mr. Hoar is probably right if he said that Monday's vote "means the death of the Republican party."

Political organizations, like individual politicians, often do not recognize that they are dead for some time after the event. The Whig party really expired in 1852, although the funeral ceremonies did not occur until a good while later. In like manner, the Republican party may survive for some time as an opposition to the apparently eternal Democracy, but its fate as an organization based upon the slavery issue is sealed. There is no longer any "propriety or necessity for its perpetuation."

The defeat of the Blair Bill last March meant that the black man must "take his chances" with the white man in the matter of schooling. The rejection of the Force Bill means that he must take his chances also in the matter of voting, like the "Canuck" in New England, the "Dago" in New York city, the Pole in the manufacturing cities of Pennsylvania, or the Scandinavian in the agricultural regions of the Northwest. "When a man has emerged from slavery," said truly the Supreme Court of the United States in annulling for unconstitutionality the Civil-Rights Act, "and by the aid of beneficent legislation has shaken off the inseparable concomitants of that state, there must be some stage in the progress of his elevation when he takes the rank of a mere citizen, and ceases to be the special favorite of the laws, and when his rights as a citizen or a man are to be protected in the ordinary modes by which other men's rights are protected."

The rejection of the Force Bill means that this "stage" has been reached, and consequently that "the mission of the Republican party" has been discharged. The future of political organizations cannot be forecast, but Senator Hoar is right in regarding Monday's action in the Senate as ending a chapter in our history.

SENATOR SHERMAN ON FREE COINAGE.

When the debate on free coinage of silver was started in the Senate by the setting aside of the Force Bill, the cause of sound money found a ready and well-equipped champion in Senator Sherman, who led off in a speech of unusual strength and earnestness. The text of this speech, as published in the *Record*, is much more effective than the newspaper reports indicated, and much less crippled by the commitments of the Senator to the Finance Bill of the last session or the one now pending. As to these half-measures, Mr. Sherman was particular to say that he yielded his own judgment to the supposed necessity of a compromise, but he did not refrain from pointing out the erroneous principles of those measures. Both measures, providing for increased purchases of silver by the Treasury, are bottomed on the thesis that Government ought to do something for that suffering metal, something to lift up its drooping head and advance its price in the market. The judicious and benevolent intentions of Congress, as expressed in the bill of last session, had (it was said) been frustrated by speculators. The Government had been buying four and a-half million ounces per month, but in spite of these well-meant efforts to revive silver and bring it to a parity with gold, there had been an accumulation of twelve million ounces from various parts of the world in the New York market, and the Committee on Finance had been besought to take off that load, and so give silver another

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chance. Upon this point Mr. Sherman remarks:

"I do not believe that was a wise idea; but still, in common with the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the general feeling on this side of the Senate, we thought it was better to relieve the minds of our friends from this load, as they said, which bore down the market, and we proposed by the first section of the bill to buy that bullion at its market price and get it out of the way."

Something might be said here about Mr. Sherman's own shortcomings. Apparently he puts some blame on the speculators for frustrating the good intentions of the act of last year. "If they had waited," he said, "and allowed the ordinary course of the business world to deal with the masses of silver that were brought out; if we had purchased regularly at the market price four and a half million ounces of silver a month, the advance in the market value of that silver would have gone forward slowly and gradually, and in a few years it might have reached the standard of gold. But that was not the policy. Speculations were entered into," etc. If we are to treat this conception seriously, was it not incumbent on the statesmen who passed that bill to take speculation into the account as a factor to be reckoned with? People will always be found ready to make money by buying property that they think is going up, or by selling what they think is going down. To legislate as though such persons did not exist would be very foolish indeed. But it is not true that the speculators prevented any beneficent results from following the Silver Act of last year. They could no more make a permanent price for silver than the grain or cotton speculators can make a permanent price for those staples. Moreover, it was not for their interest that the price of silver should fall. On the contrary, it was greatly for their interest that it should rise—the higher the better for them. They set out, according to the programme published at the time, to carry the price up to 129. They got it up to 121, and at that point so much bullion came forward from one place and another that they could not carry it.

All this by way of apology for a bad measure in order to avoid a worse one. But it appears that the worse one is not avoided—not if the free-coinage phalanx, led by Stewart and Teller, can muster a majority of votes in favor of the amendment proposed by the former to the pending bill. That amendment is for free coinage of silver, or rather for free bullionage, which is worse, since coinage takes time, while bullionage precipitates upon the country, in the form of legal-tender certificates, all the surplus silver in the world at once, or as fast as it can be collected together and presented at the mints. Against free bullionage or free coinage Mr. Sherman brings all his powers as a debater, a financier, an economist. He shows that this means the demonetization of gold and the striking out, at one blow, of the larger half of the circulating medium, and the oncoming of a financial crisis more sweeping and disastrous than the world has ever seen. He shows, too, that instead of raising the price of silver bullion, the free-coinage bill would cause it to fall, since then it would exchange for other commodities only at its actual value, whereas now its value is enhanced by the Government's purchasing arbitrarily the entire product of our own mines.

It is a noteworthy fact that one of the effects of the recent pinch in the money market has been to close a large number of silver mines in Colorado. The operation of cause and effect in this case is perfectly clear. The apprehension of the silver standard led to a hoarding of gold. Every gold dollar drawn causes the banks to curtail at least four dollars of their loans and discounts. The banks of Colorado could no longer make their customary advances to the smelters, who could no longer buy the ore from the miners. Hence all of the latter who were not forehanded and able to do their own smelting or to pile up their ore were obliged to stop work. If this was done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? If the small mines have suffered by reason of a slight contraction of the loans and discounts of the banks, what will happen when one-half of the metallic money of the country, which is the half upon which loans and discounts are based, is stricken out altogether?

Mr. Sherman has presented in stronger terms and with greater fulness the ideas embodied in the letter of President Cleveland to Mr. Warner of Ohio in February, 1885. It is easy to say that the trouble which Mr. Cleveland predicted has not come to pass. The truth is that it was only postponed, and it is not far distant now, if the present programme of the silver-men is to be carried out. We have had a foretaste of it in the past sixty days, and we shall get another and a more bitter one just in proportion as we approach, or as the public think we are approaching, the silver standard. And this experience will be repeated just as often as that apprehension comes. We shall live in a semi-panic until all such fears are dissipated. Industry will be ground down, factories and mines will be closed, bankruptcy will be chronic, and distress will be so great that even the misery of the McKinley Bill will be forgotten.

A LESSON IN BALLOT REFORM.

THE grave controversy at Hartford over the Governorship is a most timely warning as to the unwisdom of all secret-ballot laws which do not provide a genuine official ballot. To the absence of any such provision in the existing Connecticut Ballot Act, passed in 1889, many of the present complications are due, and many more are certain to ensue hereafter unless there is an essential change in the new voting law of the State. The experiences with that statute are an instructive chapter in ballot-reform legislation, especially at the present time, when many State legislatures are soon to meet and either pass new ballot acts or revise those already adopted.

Near the close of the long session of the Connecticut Legislature of 1889, there was passed an excellent ballot bill, modelled on that of Massachusetts. There was at the time of its passage little doubt that Gov. Bulkeley would approve the measure, as he had intimated that he would do so. But at the eleventh hour some of the "practical" politicians of the State got his ear. They professed to have discovered "complications" in the bill which would make it "clumsy" in its operation. So, acting partly under their advice and partly under his own later and more partisan impulse, the Governor vetoed the measure, and his veto was sustained by influences brought to bear on certain legislators. But the clamor excited by the Governor's act, his public likeness to Hill which the Connecticut papers began to point out, and the grave responsibility which the Republican party had assumed, scared its leaders. So, almost at the last legislative day, the present crude law was hatched, rushed through both houses, substantially without amendment, and promptly signed. Naturally enough, it was filled with verbal blunders and with doubtful phrasing, but to these we do not now refer. The point we wish to emphasize as the immediate warning, is the fact that, although it compelled the State to stamp the ballot as "Official," to supply the paper for the ballots, and to specify the type to be used, the law gave the printing and the distribution of the ballots, in any number desired, to the party managers.

Now let us see how these pseudo-official ballots have worked in practice. Altogether there have been held under the Connecticut law, since it was passed, two local elections in each city and town of the State, and one general State election. At all of these contests there have been endless wrangles as to the proper and legal form for printing the ballots, the use of pasters, the places where the ballots could be put, and half-a-dozen other matters. A number of cases, moreover, have already got into the courts. One was the case of the "Citizens' tickets" put out at Hartford last spring, which the Supreme Court in October found illegal, and which so tarnished Gov. Bulkeley's name. Besides, there has been the contest over the "For" votes which now awaits a Supreme Court decision; the blanks on the Prohibition ballots left under the title of Judge of Probate, which Judge Hall of the Connecticut Superior Court has decided to be illegal, and which may yet throw out several thousand votes in the State; the rejection by the moderator of more than a hundred votes in Bridgeport said to have been marked; and other questions without number which either party can raise if it wants to. All but one of the cases stated enter into the Governorship contest now pending. As a direct result, therefore, of the blunder of letting the parties handle the ballots, the State is plunged into a bitter and involved party conflict affecting the whole administration of the Commonwealth during the next two years, the outcome of which no man can now see.

Another old and familiar device which has been tried anew in Connecticut and has been found defective is the "envelope" plan. It was held by the promoters of the new

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law that the envelope assured secret voting, and to some extent it did protect the voter, as the election returns from the "bull-dozed" factory towns showed. But, on the other hand, in almost every Connecticut town at the last election a number of votes were lost from failure to seal the envelopes, and the total number of votes thus nullified in the State must have been several hundred—enough, perhaps, to have changed the whole result of the election and to have averted the impending contest. Again, at each election some of these envelopes have been missed. This means their possible misuse by political tricksters in working the "Tasmanian dodge," and sending around the bribed voter with a sealed envelope to bring back one unsealed to prove his fulfilment of his evil compact. Unless the State Ballot Act is changed, or unless the Secretary of State varies, as he has not hitherto done, the form or color of the envelopes, those that are outstanding now may be used at future elections, not only for purchasing the voter, but also for certifying the delivery of his venal ballot.

The sharp lesson which these Connecticut experiences teach us is, that for the State ballot pure and simple, without any clumsy "envelope" attachment, there can be no adequate substitute. Any other plan necessarily leaves the party with its blunders and trickeries as an agent in the voting mechanism. Between the old method of voting and the real official ballot there is no compromise. We must either adopt a plan in which the ballots are prepared and given out in the voting-room by officers sworn under penalties to the faithful and accurate performance of duties, or else let the politician "run" the ballots, with the certainty that they will be botched by his knavery or ignorance. To a real official ballot we can justly attribute the smoothness and accuracy with which the Massachusetts Secret-Ballot Act has done its work; and to a hybrid system we can with equal certainty charge the legal snarls and the befogged Governorship contest in which the sister State of Connecticut, just over the Massachusetts line, is now so deeply involved.

CORRUPTING TESTIMONIALS.

During the examination of Mr. Porter, the Commissioner of Charities and Correction, the other day, before the Fassett Committee, the appointment of "Fatty" Walsh to the Wardenship of the Tombs came up, and Mr. Porter mentioned the names of several prominent citizens who had signed testimonials recommending him for the place. Mr. Ivins, who was examining the witness, thereupon added, as reported in the *Evening Post*, that "if he had been asked to sign the recommendation for his [Walsh's] appointment, he would have done so, as he thought he was a good enough man for the place and able to do the work." As this seemed somewhat startling, Mr. Ivins was asked for a confirmation of it, and he corrected it as follows:

"The reporter who wrote that caught the spirit of what I had said, but not the letter. I did say that if I been asked *at that time* to sign the recommendation for his appointment, I should have done so. I considered Mr. Walsh at that time a good enough man for the place. If anybody had asked me to recommend him for appointment as warden of a penitentiary or State's prison, I should have refused, because I never should have considered him fully capable of filling such a position."

Now, the difference between a State prison or penitentiary and the Tombs is that the two former are places of punishment, while the Tombs is a place of detention in which persons are confined while awaiting trial or the execution of the death penalty, or in default of bail. The inmates of the Tombs, too, are a much smaller number than those of the penitentiaries, and therefore, on this account, that prison presents fewer difficulties of administration. But Mr. Ivins's notion that persons confined in the Tombs are not entitled to as much consideration from the city government as persons confined in any other prison, is, coming from a reformer engaged in actual reform work—taken *flagrante delicto*, so to speak—so curious and likely to prove so mischievous, and has already produced so much mischief, that it deserves some notice.

There appears to be at the bottom of it some sort of vague impression that the character of jailer should in some degree depend on the character of his prisoners, and that if they are mostly riffraff, such as find their way to the Tombs for want of bail, anybody is good enough to take charge of them. There is nothing new in this idea. It governed the prison administration of nearly every prison in Europe before Howard's time, and produced the horrors in English and Continental jails of which people now read with a shudder, and the disappearance of which is used in histories as illustrating social and religious progress. It was succeeded by the idea, which is now supposed to govern the penal system of all Christian nations, that the officers who represent the State in its management of the helpless portion of its population, namely, its criminals, paupers, and lunatics, should be taken, to use the words of our illustrious Mayor, "from the highest order of citizenship the county affords"; that is, that no man can be too wise, or too good, or too humane, or too experienced to take charge of a jail or an almshouse. He should represent to the unfortunate inmates the community at large in its best moods, and show, both in his character and career, the qualities on which it teaches its children to set most value.

That the services of such men cannot always be procured for such work does not affect the rule. It is the duty of civilized governments to seek them by every means within their reach, and the duty of all good citizens, and especially reformers, to proclaim the need of them in season and out of season. We have no more right to allow cruelty or injustice to be practised on the prisoners or paupers than on any other class of the poor or unfortunate. Our duty to them is not measured by their deserts, but by our obligations as civilized men administering a Christian government. Moreover, the prisoners in the Tombs are not necessarily criminals. Every man in America is held to be innocent of crime until he is proved guilty, and most of the Tombs prisoners are persons who have not been proved guilty of anything. It probably contains throughout the year many scores who are innocent in fact as well as in law. But whether really guilty or simply friendless and unfortunate, we are none the less under a solemn obligation not to put them into the hands of men of bad character or ruffianly temper.

Mr. Ivins's qualification in his corrected statement, that he would have signed "Fatty" Walsh's recommendation at the time of his appointment, with the suggested inference that he would not sign it now, having seen "Fatty" dismissed for misconduct in office, does not mend matters very much. All candidates, everywhere but in Bouffeland, for administrative offices which they have never filled before, rely mainly on their character and previous career to prove their fitness. If they have no marks for experience, their standing in honesty, integrity, and efficiency must be at least 100. The theory that if the work desired be the care of bad men, the candidate need not be a good man, is about as rational as the famous assumption that a man "who drives fat oxen must himself be fat." There is no rationality in it. It is a nursery theory. If "Fatty" Walsh was fit to take charge of the chief prison of a great metropolis, it would prove the folly of inquiring into a man's antecedents before giving him any responsible place whatever. Fatty's career, in fact, ought, anywhere but in Bouffeland, to have proved his special unfitness for the care of the criminal class. A rumseller and gambler is in New York the very last person to receive a share in the administration of criminal justice. Whatever would be considered a disqualification for any respectable private place, ought to operate as a disqualification for this.

The incident on which we are commenting is a good illustration of the way in which the growth of the criminal and semi-criminal class in this city is fostered by the moral and religious and well-to-do. We venture to assert that this reckless signing of testimonials in which so many respectable men indulge is a direct premium on crime and disorder. There are thousands of young "toughs" in this city beginning life very much as Fatty Walsh began his, and who, if they reach middle age, will have passed their lives as he has passed his. We invite the lawyers and merchants and judges who sign these testimonials to ask themselves what the effect on the juvenile criminals and rowdies of our streets must be of seeing careers of violence and disorder and lawlessness rewarded with well-paid wardenships of prisons and seats on the judicial bench. Every year the mire of our semi-criminal politics gets a little deeper, but we never unearth one of its scandals without coming on a lot of semi-religious promoters of it in the persons of certificate-writers.

THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES IN WINTER.

London, December, 1890.

Cambridge and Oxford lose much of their enchantment, in externals at least, to those who have seen them only in their summer attire, if they revisit them at the wintry season. There may be green turf in the courts of the

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colleges, and here and there an ivy still of dark green; but the bare anatomy of the trees and the dull expanse of many leafless vines on their walls serve to emphasize the naked decay of a large part of the buildings, and one looks upon them as upon monarchs in tatters, and they are easily dethroned in the imagination. I never felt before so much—for this is my first sight of these university towns in the cheerless season—that hoar antiquity, or the *quasi*-antiquity which the English climate so speedily produces, gains most of its loveliness from the verdure which shrouds it. It seems, too, as if there had been of late years a good deal of stripping of the ivy from the walls, to arrest the decay and disintegration which, with all its beauty, it serves to produce. The grimy and ragged aspect of the worn-out stone facings of many of the college buildings—more, perhaps, in Oxford than in Cambridge—is far from pleasing; nor is the sensation much helped by the painful contrasts where a spotted restoration has been made.

But friendly sympathy, eliciting the most hospitable of courtesies, makes the visitor in this season, when so much depends on indoor intercourse, delay his departure from either of these academic circles. I came to them from Edinburgh, where the professors of the University had been very kind, and even endeared to me; but the absence of the college halls is an unpleasing contrast, and the cosiness of a don's chamber has no counterpart in the Scotch University, or even in our own. One remembers a dinner or a lunch at a master's lodge as a board of which one may have some conception at the table of the president of an American college; but a dinner at the high table of Trinity or King's, or St. John's at Cambridge, or at New College or Queen's at Oxford, is something not within our American academic experience. The Latin grace at the beginning is said, by varying custom, sometimes by a scholar and sometimes by whatever senior officer may chance to be at the high table. At Trinity in Cambridge, it was read in alternating sentences by the Vice-Chancellor—now the Master of that College—and by Aldis Wright, the Shaksperian, the Vice-Master. It is, perhaps, owing to the less diversified dinner of the undergraduates on the floor of the hall that their repast is sooner ended than that of the dons. They steal out of the hall, each one as he finishes, and the stranger on the dais, eager in talk with his neighbors, suddenly awakes to the apprehension that there is no one left in the hall but the occupants of the high table.

Customs in the two towns and at the colleges in the same town vary much. The final grace is said at the high table. The sign for it in at least one hall in Cambridge is that the head-waiter places a large silver loving cup before the presiding officer. On rising from the table the dons retire to a room which they call in Cambridge a "combination" room, and in Oxford a "common" room. It is usually a large and handsome room, hung with the portraits of eminent graduates of the College. In retiring to this room, it seems to be the custom in Oxford to take the dinner napkin along with you; in Cambridge it is not. Here again I found different practices prevail in the half-dozen halls in which I dined at the two universities. At Trinity in Cambridge, for instance, you sit in this room at a long table and help to keep the decanter in motion, and have some biscuit and cheese with celery to nibble at. The usual practice, however, is to sit in a semi-circle before the fire with little round tables for the dessert and glasses, either in front of each chair or between each two. The propulsion of sherry, claret, and port—these seem to be the orthodox wines of this after feast—gives a man something to do, in the gaps of conversation. With the fireplace forming the link which connects the ends of the horse-shoe curve of sitters, there is a difficulty in the course of the viney propulsion. At some colleges I found they got over it by reversing the direction; but at New College and Queen's in Oxford, they had devices of their own. At the one a little track ran along the hearth and sustained a little carriage, in which the restless and viney vessel sped across the hot side of the circle; and at Queen's the track was placed upon the mantel-piece. After a half hour or more spent in this room, the dons separate for the smoking-room, if they have one, or break up into little parties, and go to the rooms of one or more of their number, and continue the talk in a cloud of smoke. By this time the intercourse becomes more friendly, and the guest of the evening, who is likely to be of the same party, finds a succession of companionships in talk likely to keep him amid such hospitality till towards midnight. As he makes his somewhat angular march to his lodgings, forced into zigzags by the perversity of the short cuts in the narrow streets, he is pretty sure to encounter the proctors, with their attending "bull dogs," on the watch for vagrant students.

I saw something of the literary activities of the two universities; but that which most interested me at Cambridge was the work which I found Aldis Wright doing for a new edition of his standard Shakspere. The coming edition will appear under his sole charge, and his own critical instincts will have fuller play than when he worked on the earlier edition in connection with a collaborator. There will be accordingly some revision of judgments. The edition will be kept at its old number of volumes, but each will be increased in bulk. I found he had three volumes nearly finished; and the publication will begin, I think, with the New Year for volume i., and with a reserve of completed volumes sufficient to insure a regular periodicity in publication. The student of Shakspere will remember that this long-established Shaksperian text now under revision was made with the great advantage to be derived from the use which the editors could easily make of Capel's wonderful collection in the library of Trinity, and with such reference as was occasionally necessary to the twin accumulation which stands in Malone's name in the Bodleian at Oxford. I have recently looked, for the second time in twenty years, at these marvellous accumulations for the Shaksperian student. It was easy to observe that the catalogue of the Barton collection of Shaksperiana in the Boston Public Library—which collection it fell to my lot to arrange in 1873-'77—is a not unused key to the use of similar collections here.

At Oxford I visited Dr. Murray and his workshop, where the great historical Dictionary of the English Language which bears his name is in the course of compilation. The University people speak of Dr. Murray's *scriptorium*, and when I handed in my card at his house a little way out of town, the doormaid asked me to step round to the *scriptorium*. This is a building built of corrugated iron, which stands in the rear of Dr. Murray's residence, and it is the workshop in which he and his staff are engaged. You are struck first on entering it by the array of the fore edges of the slips showing by citation the use of words during the successive periods of the language. These slips stand on shelves, edgewise, as high or higher than you can reach, on all the walls of the room, and the mass represents the results of the reading of a large number of scholars who have been employed to read for changes in the use of words through the historic periods of the English tongue. The number of such readers embraces scholars wherever the English language is spoken—in Europe, America, or in Asia. On slanting shelves everywhere that the spaces of the room admitted, the leading dictionaries, whose collation is found necessary in passing on from word to word, are arranged, open at the points of present attention, so that the collator passes with the least impediment from one dictionary to another. It has been my fortune in years past to have been in the similar quarters of the staffs of the great dictionaries of Webster and Worcester, and more recently in that of the still larger 'Century Dictionary' in New York; but the work or aims of no other has required quite the same extension of detail. I have spoken in previous letters of two books which have come in my way during my present visit to England, which had been scored by Dr. Johnson when he was reading for his own dictionary. One I had found in the possession of Mr. Samuel Timmins of Arley, another at the Chapter Library at Lichfield, and a third Dr. Murray now showed me among the books in his own working collection.

I found Dr. Waldstein at Cambridge just closing up his University lectures preparatory to starting to take charge of the American School of Greek Archæology at Athens.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

TALLEYRAND IN LONDON AND AMERICA.

PARIS, December 25, 1890.

M. PALLAIN, the Director of the French Customs, employs his leisure in historical work. He has turned his attention to the diplomatic correspondence of Talleyrand, and published already the inedited correspondence of Talleyrand with King Louis XVIII. during the Congress of Vienna. He intends to publish later a relation of his administration while he was Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Directory, his memoirs and reports addressed to Napoleon I., his instructions to ambassadors, his correspondence with his secretaries, etc. The volume just issued relates to Talleyrand's mission to London in 1792, and contains also his letters to Lord Lansdowne, written from the United States after 1794.

Talleyrand arrived in London on January 12, 1792, with the mission of forming a defensive alliance between France and England. On his deathbed, Mirabeau, who was the colleague of Talleyrand in the Diplomatic Committee of the Constituent Assembly, had recommended this alliance to him. All the recent researches and publications of Sybel and others have proved that Europe was never really united against the French Revolution. Prussia, Russia, Austria had views and interests of their own which could not well be reconciled. England did not really wish to make war so long as Antwerp and Amsterdam were not threatened. The first coalition had been broken after two years of vain and disconnected efforts. The death of Leopold and the excesses of the French Revolution had been the signal for a second coalition. Talleyrand suggested that a mission should be sent to Prussia, and offered to go himself to London in order to neutralize the efforts of the coalition. England was still neutral, and was in an expectant attitude.

Talleyrand felt convinced that England would not join the coalition if France did not attack the Netherlands. Lord Grenville clearly explained to the French Ministers that the

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Netherlands were the tie between England and Europe; at the Congress of Utrecht, England had stipulated that the Belgian provinces should never go out of the House of Austria—they were to remain a permanent barrier between France and Holland. England remained in reality neutral, and resisted all the offers of the Continental Powers till the French Government adopted a policy of conquest and of propagandism. In vain did Talleyrand furnish arguments in favor of a policy of non-intervention; the Revolutionary Government wished to create new republics, and was not long in threatening the Stadtholder of the Netherlands. Talleyrand, by his ability, had brought England to the acceptation of the French occupation of Belgium; it was the maximum which England would and could accept. Holland was to be left outside of the influence of France. But the policy of Talleyrand was not adopted, and, after the famous 10th of August, his mission came to an end. He remained in London no longer as an Ambassador, but as a refugee. He asked first the Grand Duke of Tuscany for permission to retire to his States; his request was refused. In January, 1794, he received from the English Government an order to leave England in twenty-four hours. On the 3d of February, 1794, he left for America, where he remained till 1796.

His correspondence with Lord Lansdowne is published for the first time by M. Pallain, to whom it was generously lent by the present Lord Lansdowne. It begins with a letter written as far back as October 3, 1791, from Kensington Square. He replies to Lord Lansdowne, who had asked him to make him a visit at Bowood, that he is detained in London by the necessity of giving help to some French friends "devoted to the cause of liberty, but turned out by pikes." . . . "At a moment when everything is denaturalized and perverted, the men who remain faithful to Liberty, notwithstanding the bloody mask which atrocious scoundrels have put on her face, are very few in number. I cannot weary of admiring M. de Montmorency and M. de Beaumetz, who have come to me after having for a whole month been on the point of being murdered, and who still love liberty even for France and detest the foreign invasion." Then comes a good picture of the debasement of France under the Terror: "The clubs and the pikes kill all energy, and accustom the people to dissimulation; and if we allow it to contract this infamous habit, it will soon find happiness only in a change of tyrants."

The second letter of the collection is written long afterwards, in Philadelphia (Feb. 1, 1795), and it has so much interest that I may be allowed to give exceptional attention to it. Talleyrand was led to examine "what are the necessary relations that exist between the United States and England; what are the *true* dispositions of the two peoples towards each other." In order to answer this question, he looks beyond the present moment and makes conjectures regarding a distant future. The passions ruling in 1795 will not be the passions ruling in the nineteenth century. He tells Lord Lansdowne very frankly that "the ties which united America and England when America was the subject and England the sovereign, are inevitably destroyed; and all hope of resuscitating them, all effort in that direction, all expectations given or accepted on this subject, must be looked upon as the dream of a delirious imagination or of a coarse and lying adulation. This I hold to be admitted." It would seem at present (1795) as if there were in the United States a strong inclination towards France and a great aversion for England. Talleyrand explains this state of things by the remembrance of the War of Independence; he admits that there are moments when the new Republic, though it is in essence pacific, would seem to be inclined to let the balance of neutrality fall on the French side. He finds England at fault for exercising her neutrality, as far as America is concerned, in a manner which resembles open hostility. He adds, however, and here one must admire his foresight and his powers of observation, that "it requires more time and reflection than is at the service of an ordinary traveller to find out that, notwithstanding these circumstances, *America is still all English* [*tout anglaise*]; by which I mean that *England has still every advantage over France for deriving from the United States all the benefit which a nation can derive from the existence of another nation.*" (These words are underlined in the text.)

How can a nation be useful to another nation? It must first desire it and then be capable of it. Talleyrand boldly assumes that the natural inclination of America is "in favor of England." This proposition might seem paradoxical; but the war had come to an end, the pride of America was satisfied; the Americans are governed by their passions less than any other people; all their habits make them tributary to England with a force of necessity which no declaration could diminish.

"The similarity of language establishes England's right of ownership over all the inclinations of the Americans in an irresistible manner. It fixes between the men of the two countries a common character which will always unite them and make them recognize each other. They will naturally think themselves at home when they travel in each other's country, and they will exchange with a reciprocal pleasure their full thoughts and a discussion of their interests, while an insurmountable barrier is placed between peoples of a different language who cannot pronounce a word without warning each other that they are not brothers, and to whom all transmission of thought is a painful task and no longer a pleasure."

Talleyrand notes, besides in the Federal Constitution a great resemblance to the leading traits of the English Constitution. He speaks of the habeas corpus, of trial by jury. In the discussion or application of the laws who is cited? Whence are the analogies taken, and the examples? In the customs and rules of the British Parliament, in the common law, in the statutes and judgments of the English courts. "It is in vain that the words republic and monarchy seem to raise distinctions between the two Governments which cannot be confounded. It is clear to any man who goes to the bottom of ideas that something savors of *republic* in the representative constitution of England and something of *monarchy* in the Executive power of America." When Talleyrand wrote these lines, Gen. Washington was President, but their truth was independent of his great prestige and popularity.

Talleyrand explains afterwards how the French Ambassador tried to interfere with the establishment of the Federal Constitution and to keep the States disunited. "He wished to condemn them to a long and painful infancy before they could be emancipated without having the wisdom to conduct themselves or the strength to protect themselves. Such were the instructions of M. de Ternant, then the King's Minister to the United States." Talleyrand sees in the efforts of M. de Ternant and afterwards of Genêt the germ of anti-Federalism. The Federalists became instinctively hostile to France, and their hostility became more and more marked. These men, "though they had applauded the first efforts of France towards liberty, did not see with pleasure that she was taking a new road in the art of constitutionalism, and opposing the experience of England with bold essays which furnished momentary weapons to their adversaries. These interior motives have insensibly established between the so-called democrats and the so-called aristocrats in the United States an issue on a point which ought to remain entirely foreign to the objects of the two parties, viz., the inclination towards the French or the inclination towards the English."

Talleyrand concludes his letter, which is in reality a long memoir, with commercial and economical considerations which have not lost their value, but which I have no room to translate. He ends by advising England to treat the United States with the greatest consideration, to send to Washington distinguished Ministers. "I conclude by saying that the Americans will remain independent, that they will be more useful to England than any other Power, and that this utility will be proportionately augmented as the English Government lays aside the haughty forms which it now employs in its relations with America."

There are three other letters addressed by Talleyrand to Lord Lansdowne, from New York, but they have no great importance. One of them relates to the Jay Treaty. "All the debates on the Treaty have been kept secret; though the parties were very much excited, nothing has transpired."

I recommend to all the readers of M. Pallain's new volume a note in the Introduction (page 30), containing a letter written to Talleyrand by Madame de Staël in 1809; the original is in the British Museum. I have spoken in my letters to the *Nation* of the first relations of the famous daughter of Necker with Talleyrand, at the time when he was still called the Bishop of Autun. When Talleyrand returned from America, it may be said that Madame de Staël made him Minister of Foreign Affairs, by introducing him to the important men of the Directory. In 1809 she was in exile, the object of the special persecution of Napoleon. Her letter to Talleyrand, written in the interest of her children, is a masterpiece of delicacy, of feeling, and of dignity.

THE SIDON SARCOPHAGI.—I.

WINCHESTER, VA., December 9, 1890.

BEHIND Sidon and Tyre, at the foot of the mountains, there is an almost continuous line of rock-cut tombs. As in Palestine and the country east of the Jordan, so in Phœnicia also, the dead were buried in rock-cut tombs on steep hillsides and along deep watercourses, where the formation of the land allowed caves to be excavated with the least labor. Rich men, however, often built their tombs in their gardens, although this was liable to cause more labor, at least where the surface of the rock was flat. In order to construct the caves in which they used to place the sarcophagi, they were then compelled to sink deep shafts in the solid rock, at the bottom of which they hollowed out their cave-tombs. Tombs of this description are often found in the grain fields and gardens behind the town of Sidon and between that and the mountains. It was in such a tomb to the southeast of Sidon, on the rock plateau just beyond the gardens, that the sarcophagus of King Eshmuna'zar, now in the Louvre, was found. This sarcophagus had been rifled of its contents, removed from the royal tomb, used again, and deposited in a tomb at that point; so it seems. Here it was that Renan excavated, finding a number of tombs, so that

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on his map he designates this spot as the necropolis of Sidon. This designation is entirely incorrect, for just as many tombs exist everywhere else behind the town as at Renan's so-called necropolis. The whole surface of the rock plateau above the gardens and below the hills is honeycombed with these tombs, occurring sometimes singly, sometimes in groups. Stone-cutters pursuing their occupation are continually discovering new tombs. They ordinarily rifle them, selling the lamps, bottles, etc., which they find to antiquity-dealers or chance travellers. It was stone-cutters who discovered the tomb containing the sarcophagus of Eshmuna'zar referred to above. The peculiar character of this sarcophagus led them to communicate the find to others, and it was obtained by the Duc de Luynes for the Louvre.

Between three and four years ago a stone-cutter discovered a tomb containing sarcophagi on the edge of the plateau, close to the gardens, about as far to the northeast of the town as was Renan's "necropolis" to the southeast. The peculiar nature of the sarcophagi which he saw led the stone-cutter to inform the American missionaries at Sidon of his discovery, and through their agency, I believe, the fact was communicated to Hamdy Bey, director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. This led to his excavations at Sidon in the spring of 1887, and the recovery of those remarkable sarcophagi which are just being thrown open to the public in the new Museum built to receive them in the Turkish capital.

In the winter of 1887–'88 it was reported by telegraph that one of these sarcophagi was the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. An enterprising New York daily forthwith interviewed a number of savants here and abroad, and devoted much space to a discussion of the subject. After that the matter was allowed to drop, and very little has been heard of the sarcophagi since, except an occasional complaint that Hamdy Bey had not published his results, nor allowed any one to see and study the sarcophagi themselves. In point of fact, he had no place to put them, and they remained in their boxes in the open air, while he was arranging for the erection of a proper building—for which the Sultan gave the money—and superintending its erection. The building is now about completed, the sarcophagi on exhibition, and Hamdy's work on the same making its appearance. The latter is published in *fascicules* by Leroux of Paris. It is to be uniform with Renan's 'Mission en Phénicie,' and abundantly illustrated; for Hamdy Bey is a well-known artist and also an excellent photographer.

I saw the sarcophagi in September and October of this year. They were still in their cases, but I was allowed to examine them as long and as often as I wished to. I shall never forget my first visit. I had just arrived in Constantinople, and had gone to call on Hamdy at the Museum. He proposed to show me the sarcophagi, which were in the lower story of the unfinished new building. He commenced with the sarcophagus of the "Weepers," opening one at a time, and finishing with the great sarcophagus which had been attributed in the telegrams sent to this country to Alexander the Great. I was amazed and utterly carried away; for although I had heard something of the beauty of the sculptures, I was not prepared to find such wonderful art treasures. I had never seen anything to compare with them, and each time I saw them afterwards, the more closely I examined them, the greater the impression. They take their place in the very front rank of the art treasures of the world, and it is worth a long pilgrimage to see and study them.

There are seventeen sarcophagi in all, nine of which are adorned with polychrome sculpture. There were two tombs, one a Phœnician royal tomb practically unviolated, and the other a Greek tomb, all the sarcophagi in which had been broken into and violated. The Phœnician tomb was at a higher level than the Greek. At the time the latter was constructed all knowledge of the existence of the former was lost. The builders sank their shaft and began to cut a chamber into the rock, when the hollow sound warned them that they were penetrating into an older tomb. Accordingly they sank their shaft still deeper, to the unusual depth of forty feet, when they were below the other tomb, and could cut the requisite chambers without breaking into others already existing. Some notice of the discoveries in the Phœnician tomb, and more particularly of the inscribed sarcophagus of Tabnith, the father of the above-mentioned Eshmuna'zar, was published in the *Revue Archéologique* in 1887, the writer erroneously, however, speaking of the Greek tomb as being at a higher level than the Phœnician. The writer of the article, M. Renan, also attributes the Phœnician tomb, and consequently the inscription of Tabnith, to a date at least a century too late. Driver of Oxford does the same thing in his discussion of the early history of the Hebrew alphabet in the introduction to his 'Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel,' assigning it to 300 B. C. Now there is one of the Greek sarcophagi already mentioned, found in the tomb first discovered, which cannot be later than 300 B. C., and, as already stated, at the time when the tomb containing the sarcophagus was constructed, the existence of the neighboring Phœnician royal tomb seems to have passed out of remembrance. There are certain further details which Hamdy Bey feels determine the date of Tabnith approximately, but which I am not at liberty to state. At least, his discovery furnishes conclusive proof that the date of 300 B. C. for Tabnith is too late by a hundred years or more, a result of some importance in Phœnician epigraphy.

The inscription on Tabnith's sarcophagus reads as follows:

"I, Tabnith, priest of Ashtaroth, King of the Sidonians, son of Eshmuna'zar, priest of Ashtaroth, King of the Sidonians, lie in this chest. Thou whosoever findest this chest do not open my tomb (?) nor violate it, for there is no image of silver, nor image of gold, neither any jewels hidden (?). I only lie in this chest; do not open my tomb nor violate it, for that is an abomination unto Ashtaroth; and if thou dost at all open my tomb and violate it, mayest thou have no seed among the living under the sun, nor resting-place among the shades!"

There is something pathetic in the testimony which this inscription affords to the insecurity even of royal tombs. The pains which had been taken to secure the sarcophagus in its chamber bear further testimony of the same character. It was buried in a hole in the rock floor of the chamber, which was filled up with small stones and mortar, and on top of all was a great block of stone about ten feet long and five feet thick. But the pathos of the attempt to preserve this tomb inviolate both by curses and by material means is somewhat marred by the fact that the very sarcophagus in which Tabnith's mummy was found had been stolen from an Egyptian tomb. There are uneffaced Egyptian inscriptions both without and within, from which it appears that this great mummy-shaped stone chest was originally the coffin of a certain Egyptian general named Panephtah. It seems probable that, after the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, many ancient tombs were violated, and that a traffic sprang up in second-hand Egyptian coffins.

The sarcophagus of Eshmuna'zar in the Louvre is an Egyptian stone coffin of the same type as that of Tabnith, a result of the same traffic in funeral spoils. As I have already stated, it was not found in its original condition, nor apparently in its original position. Hamdy Bey is inclined to suppose, with considerable probability, that the tomb of Eshmuna'zar was in the same neighborhood as that of Tabnith. If so, then there is a possibility that the tomb of Tabnith may be a part of a sort of royal necropolis, and that unviolated graves of other kings of Sidon may be discovered hardly less interesting. Last summer stone-cutters ascertained that other tomb-chambers exist close to those already found in the same grain and olive field. Hamdy Bey hopes to be able to excavate those next spring, and we must wish for him at least some part of the remarkable success which attended his excavations in 1887.

In the tomb of Tabnith, besides the chamber containing his own sarcophagus, were other chambers containing uninscribed stone sarcophagi, presumably the coffins of the women of his family. With none of these, so far as I am informed, was found anything of interest, but merely lamps and vases of ordinary forms. These also were transported to Constantinople to form part of the unique collection of sarcophagi which fills the whole lower floor of the new Museum and overflows into the court in front.

JOHN P. PETERS.

Correspondence.

THE SIOUX "WAR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To any one who knows all the facts, the present massacres of the Sioux are inexpressibly sad and shocking. The Government makes treaties with the Indians promising them annually certain supplies. The supplies are mainly stolen by the agents, the Indians suffer in body from hunger, and suffer in mind at the thought that they are perfidiously treated. Their case is hopeless, and to any one who studies the matter, it is a very pretty example of like causes producing like results when we see them, in the same situation as the Jews under the Romans, losing all hope of earthly help and turning towards the thought of supernatural deliverance. They quickly adapted the Messiah idea to their own case; the ground was ready for the seed.

It was my fortune to meet the Sioux as hostiles the first time I ever saw them, and our party, outnumbered five times, narrowly escaped a fight that meant, as the mountaineers said, that we should have been "rubbed out." Though I was then but a boy, it was plain to me that we were in the wrong as they charged us—making a new wagon road through their country without their consent by treaty or otherwise—though it took away none of the bitterness as we looked around at the hills with but five minutes more to live, as we believed.

The following year I went to work at Fort Laramie in an old historical building of stone and adobe, as "cub" or store-boy, selling goods to soldiers of the garrison, freighters, and emigrants, and to the Sioux who were all around there. On quiet afternoons a party of Sioux would walk in and sit down wrapped in robes

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or blankets and silently smoke and pass the pipe around. Sometimes the silence was broken by discussions on various subjects. The proprietor, my employer, had gone among the Sioux and Cheyennes at the age of sixteen, and raised an Indian family. But the squaw and most of the children were dead, and "Yellow Hair" was a great rich man with a white squaw, and on his rare visits to the place his old friends felt honored to get to shake his hand and say "How."

A frequent subject of conversation was how that the Great Father (President) sends goods for the Sioux, and the agents give them one-tenth and sell the other nine-tenths to the traders, who trade them to the Sioux for peltries instead of giving them. I remember especially one Indian, who came in with his boy and began telling me that he was just back from the *wak-o-pominy*. That meant a free distribution of annuities or presents. He told me he had a squaw and three pappooses, and "This is the share that my whole family got," said he, as he contemptuously stuck his butcher-knife into a big plug of tobac o that looked as if it had been rained on. The Indians said "such a trader"—naming a Frenchman, formerly a trapper—"got one wagon-load of the goods sent us by the Great Father"; such another "got two loads," and so on, "and they traded some to us, and sent others up north to trade to other bands of our tribe."

Differentiation has done as much work among Indians as among whites, and there is not more difference between Crispi and a dago than between Spotted Tail, Little Thunder, Afraid-of-My-Horse (erroneously called Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses), or Red Cloud, or any great Sioux chief, and the dregs of the Kaw tribe, for example. "Yellow Hair," my white employer, said: "I spent the winter of my sixteenth year in a Cheyenne village of two thousand souls, and every woman in it was virtuous. Any one could rely implicitly on the word of every man, and I should like to see the white village of which the same could be said." But he added: "That was before they had met the white men."

There was something so fascinating in the honest straightforwardness of the Sioux, who, *en passant*, call themselves "Lah-kota," that I would have imitated my employer and gone among them as one of them, for I do not see how any impulse can be stronger than was then "the love of vert and venison." But it was plain to me that the wave of white men would sooner or later go over it all, and then I should be like the "squaw-men," neither a white man nor an Indian. While female beauty was not general among them, it was true that Wahziminy, "The-One-Who-Smells-Like-Pine," and Tinggaliska, "The Antelope Fawn," and others, were as handsome as women can be who are not white.

All through the bloody year of 1865, when we were prompted to feel each morning whether our scalps were in place, we could not fairly deny that the danger we were in came from the faults of our own race in their bad faith with Indians. The last lot of Sioux that I saw was Red Cloud and other chiefs and "Strong Hearts," in Cheyenne, en route to Washington. They were as straight as arrows, and as they stood in the streets surrounded by crowds of the curious, they were like so many Sauls, a head and shoulders above any of the white men in town except the Sheriff (an old soldier of Stonewall Jackson's) and two men who are now Senators from Wyoming. I asked one his name, and the words brought back recollections like forgotten dreams; but I could not exactly translate it, and he asked "Lo-lo-wah shnee?" (Don't you know? also meaning, "I don't know.") I could but feel a pang in thinking that such a race had extinction as its certain fate, and that their smooth, beautiful tongue, to them and their neighbors the international and diplomatic language, as French is to the whites, must be lost to comparative philology.

To me there is no dime-novel glamour about Indians to prompt this writing. Two generations back of me in my family there were honorable gentlemen who were Indian agents, a name now almost synonymous with thief. I first saw the light in an Indian agency house, and near that my grandfather lies buried, and at one side of him is an Indian chief who asked that he might rest by the faithful friend of his tribe. I know by heart the Indians' side of the story of the Black Hawk war, from my father, who was a lieutenant in Zachary Taylor's regiment; and he said it was a sickening sight to see the Illinois militia shoot squaws who were trying to swim the Mississippi with pappooses on their backs. "Nits make lice," was Harney's expression when he fell on Little Thunder's band; in more elegant English it means, Kill the children, or you will have to kill them when they are grown.

The soldiers who do the butchering cannot be blamed. When Indians have been starved into desperation and determine and begin to kill all they can, there is nothing to do but to kill them. In somewhat intimate talks with Crook on the plains, I noted how cautiously that "Gray Fox," as the reds called him, avoided, as a soldier, expressing himself against the thieves of the Interior Department who drive the Indians to desperation.

Is there no remedy? Some persons at Fort Laramie were green enough to think that the exposure of the robbery of the Indians would be followed by reformation in the methods of the Administration. They learned that the thieving agent was somebody's brother-in-law, and that if public servants could plunder the white people of millions right under the eyes and nose of the Administration in a hundred ways, then, *a fortiori*, the Indian eel must learn to keep quiet in the skinning. All attempts at exposure and reformation only made powerful enemies for those who tried it. The best thing to do is to read the story of the Roman proconsuls' plundering, and congratulate ourselves that we did not invent the infamy.

Though Big Foot was not one of my acquaintances, his track is familiar by repute. The frontiersmen have told me of seeing it after a disappearance of horses, and that it was as long as the stock of a gun. Studying languages as a pastime, I have learned something of twenty, but not all of them furnish me an expression of my feelings as I think of him butchered in time to keep him from dying of pneumonia. And the pappooses! No people are as kind to their incipient warriors as the Sioux, for they say, "We are raising them to be killed and we must treat them well." Let the man who unquestionably gave assurance that these butcheries might occur with impunity, make a collection of Indian baby scalps as toys for his grandchild, and go to church and listen to the Scripture, "Suffer little children," etc.

It was discovered that by turning the Indians over to the churches, the "Indian problem" would be solved. A certain long-haired bishop thought that if he could lay his hands on Red Cloud's head, he would reduce him to peace when he was at war. A warden of the same church got to be agent under the régime of that religious denomination, and while his agency was in northern Nebraska, he went no further than Fort Laramié, where he industriously played poker, and left his subordinates at the agency to do what is usual in the matter of the Indian appropriations.

And you, gentle reader of a great and scholarly publication, kindly overlook the faults in this article by a writer whose education has been mainly gathered at odd times by himself. Turn your eyes to the plains of Nebraska and South Dakota, where the blizzard is sweeping in resistless fury over the frozen bodies of the red mothers pierced by the bullets from the Hotchkiss and Gatling guns that killed the babies on their backs at the same discharge. They are frozen now, and the wolves are gnawing the breasts of the mothers and tearing off the legs and arms of the children who once sucked them. Not even their Messiah came to help them. Take up your 'Bleak House' and your 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and as you read them feel thankful that we are a great and Christian people, and that the party in service is a party of High Moral Ideas.

GEORGE WILSON.

LEXINGTON, Mo., New Year's Day, 1891.

THE PENSION ABUSE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Is there any other safe treatment of our general financial interests than the entire repeal of all pension legislation enacted since (say) 1870?

If not speedily done, it seems to me our entire fiscal system must be dangerously modified to procure the necessary revenue, entailing radical changes in commercial, social, and other respects, which on examination will be found inseparable from such change of system. The odious and fraudulent "protective" deception is doomed, as it ought to be, and the danger now is that it may carry down with it even the good and time-honored system of raising revenue by a "tariff for revenue," which in some form has prevailed throughout the national existence. It is improbable that any Congress, with the Western preponderance now fatuously given it for partisan reasons, will venture to restore the easiest-bearing, cheapest-collected, and most lucrative of all taxes, viz., a moderate duty on sugar, coffee, and tea; and without those items no tariff, either for revenue or protection, can long afford the enormous amounts required. Already we see a graduated income tax called for by demagogues to meet the artificial and unnecessary deficiency.

But such a tax, once incorporated into our regular system in time of peace, involves results of far-reaching consequence which it is of the greatest importance should not be lost sight of till too late. It must cause not merely the concealment of capital, but its transfer in large masses to trustees and agents within foreign jurisdictions, and even the acquisition of foreign residence by citizens whose presence, abilities, and capital are important to all classes here. It must also transfer a large part of the traffic in portable securities from American cities to London and other European bourses; and, worse than all for those who prefer or have to live here, it must tend, as intended, to impose the entire burden of the public expenditure on a small number, probably not exceeding 10 per cent. of the population, leaving the remaining 90 per cent. either indifferent to the rate of expenditure or directly interested in its augmentation.

None of these results and other kindred ones that will occur to thoughtful readers, can benefit any class of persons in this country; and yet a graduated income-tax, once fastened

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upon our regular system, would probably be harder to remove than any other fiscal blunder, since the exempted 90 per cent. will soon learn to prefer a method which imposes neither inconvenience nor visible burden upon them, and the borrowing States will see no objection to laying the whole burden on the older States that have labored longest and saved most.

If there be any force in the views thus imperfectly sketched, can there be any more pressing public necessity than timely agitation for the repeal of pension abuses which can alone supply a plausible excuse for a graduated or any other income-tax, with its train of half-foreseen mischiefs behind it? Notwithstanding the growing hosts of pensioners, with the Washington lobbyists and their $37,000,000 of realized plunder at their back, there yet remain to set against each at least twenty other voters as yet unsubsidized, and with sympathies considerably modified by the more recent legislative outrages. This condition would seem to offer a fair chance for successful agitation of the subject, if not too long deferred. I. J. W.

PHILADELPHIA, December 31, 1890.

THE PARTY OF INTELLECT AND CULTURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your notice of Mr. Henry C. Lea's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Lesson of the Pennsylvania Election," I am somewhat surprised at your remark: "We agree with Mr. Lea in thinking that the [Republican] party contains 'the major portion of the intellect and culture of the land.'" If you had used the past tense, I could agree with you, for during the years when the Democratic party was vainly endeavoring to reconcile the irreconcilable, to adjust the party creed to wild and dangerous propositions and prejudices which seemed likely to command votes with which to grasp power, not only the intellect and the culture, but the plain hard sense of the country was against it.

But parties are made for men, not men for parties. Men are not born into parties as into a caste, or, if they are, they leave one for another if it appears to them that, through the agency of the other, the ends which they believe to be good for the community or selfishly good for themselves may be thereby better subserved. Therefore the lesson of the November election (leaving out of count the result in Pennsylvania) seems to be not so much that men are changing their views of economic principles, or of the proper functions of the general Government, as that they have discovered that they have vainly tried to get them expressed and embodied through one agency, and in vast numbers have gone over to the other.

By way of illustration I add a story told me by a Massachusetts friend (and here condensed to its hurt). It is to the effect that the Ghost of Vice-President Wilson recently visited Senator Hoar and inquired as to the results of the November election in Massachusetts. The Senator gave him the names of those who had been elected as Governor and Congressmen, and told how those who had been defeated had cut down the "normal" majority of their opponents in the way we know. The Ghost was delighted. "And now, Senator," said the Ghost, "tell me who were the Democratic candidates."—Yours, JOSEPH PARRISH.

PHILADELPHIA, January 2, 1891.

MR. RAILTON'S DRAWINGS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A very agreeable notice in last week's *Nation* shows that my reference to Mr. Herbert Railton, in an article in the last *Scribner's*, is liable to mislead by seeming to imply condemnation of his work, which I admire. Nothing is better of its kind than his published sketches of picturesque buildings, and he has shown that nobody's hand is surer when there is occasion for rendering architectural form. Allow me to explain that the criticism was of draughtsmen who, having fallen in love with his picturesque touch, can think of nothing else when it comes to subjects that demand a different treatment. Pen drawing is an art in which the manipulation is so conspicuous and so enticing that it constantly draws the attention of the beholder, and of the artist, from the thing to be expressed to the means of expressing it. Here is the danger of following too enthusiastically a favorite example.

W. P. P. LONGFELLOW.

BOSTON, January 5, 1891.

THE MISPLACED *H*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR:

"Chommoda dicebat, si quando commoda vellet
Dicere, et insidias Arrius hinsidias."

Perhaps both Mr. Oliphant and "F. H." would agree in admitting that this bit from Catullus illustrates the chronology and chorology of the "Habused Haitch." Mr. Coote does not strengthen his argument by citing it in his 'Romans in Britain.' The suggestion that 'Arry lurks in Arrius can hardly be such an etymologema as causes Mr. Skeat to "listen in silent shame." A. I.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS., December 30, 1890.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In general, one gets little profit from any attempts to correct the blunders of the hopelessly ignorant. But the recent letter by "F. H." (*Nation*, December 25, 1890) entitled "*H* Displaced and Misplaced," in which he touches upon Mr. Oliphant's 'New English' and upon the vulgar English wilfulness in foisting everything bad or ignoble in speech upon America, provokes one to an expression of scholarly spleen.

The only thing in "F. H.'s" stricture that surprises me is its extreme modesty. That he, one of the chief readers for Murray's Dictionary, and saturated with English lexicology from the fourteenth century down, should stoop to mention such paltry dates as 1801, 1796, 1793, disconcerts me, in fact. Or is "F. H." keeping back his trump cards? Had he written down boldly "811" instead of "1811," even then he would have fallen short of the mark, for the *haitch* is as old as recorded English speech. The oldest monument is the Epinal Glossary, of which Mr. Sweet, 'Oldest English Texts,' p. 2, asserts, "The MS. may have been written any time between 600 and 700." Turning to this Glossary, word No. 50 (p. 38), we find the Latin *avellanus* glossed *aesil*. The Corpus Glossary (later and differing somewhat in dialect) has *hael* [for *haesl*], and—in another place—*haeselhnutu*. The word is our well-known "hazel," German *hasel*. That the *h* is an organic part of the word is shown by Kluge, in his German Dictionary. Kluge assumes a pre-Germanic **Kaselo*, cognate with Latin *corylus* (*r* from *s* by rhotacism) and old Irish *coll* for *cosl*.

Turning now to Sweet's edition of the 'Pastoral,' printed as long ago as 1871, we read, p. xxxi: "The frequent omission of initial *h* is a remarkable feature of the Pastoral MSS.: *æfdon* [for *hæfdon*, 'they had'] 27[28]; *æfde* [for *hæfde*, 'I had'] 153[18]; *is* [for *his*] 43[17], etc. The addition of an inorganic *h* is rarer: *his* for *is* 215[19], compare *ahebbad* [for *a-ebbad*, 'ebbed away'], *Chronicle*, ed. Earle, p. 95[33]."

All these examples are from genuine West-Saxon documents of the ninth century. And see Cosijn, 'Altwestsächsische Grammatik' (erste Hälfte, p. 181).

From the tenth century I cite *animo suo* = *is* [for *his*] *mode*, Kentish Glosses, No. 584 (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* xxi. 31).

Later MSS. show the *haitch* frequently. Thus An.-S. Minora (*Anglia* xii.) *gif we hit ge-hearnian* [read *earnian*] *willath* p. 514[28]; *be is* [read *his*] *ge-earnunge* 516[16]; for *hus* [read *us*] *synfullan* 517[35]. See also the examples cited by Logemann in his edition of 'The Rule of St. Benet' (E. E. T.), p. lix. § 72. For the fourteenth century we may note in Chaucer *ost* for *host*, 'House of Fame' i. 186; *haboundance* (for *abundance*), 'Fortune,' 29. In the documents of this century, *houre* (for *oure*), *heuery* for *every* (Morsbach, 'Ursprung der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache,' p. 100).

I have gathered only a few examples, such as have lain in my path while hunting for words. No one, to my knowledge, has made especial study of the point, but I am confident that whoever does will be able to multiply examples indefinitely, and make it clear even to the wayfaring man, though a fool, that the English language from the seventh to the nineteenth century has always been lax in its *haitches*. The examples from the Epinal, Pastoral, Chronicle, and Kentish glosses preclude the possibility of assuming Norman influence. J. M. HART.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, January 3, 1891.

Notes.

MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS and Scribner & Welford announce that the branch of their business heretofore conducted under the name of Scribner & Welford will henceforth be carried on under the former name, which will thus include all departments of their business. This change must have been anticipated on the death of the late Charles Welford, whose name the book-lovers of this city may be trusted to cherish without the usual reminder. The Messrs. Scribner have in press 'A Practical Guide to Whist,' by Fisher Ames; 'Talks with Athenian Youths,' five selected dialogues from Plato, newly translated; the annual edition for 1891 of Janvier's 'Mexican Guide'; and the three concluding volumes of Henry Adams's 'History of the United States,' embracing the second Administration of Madison.

'Men *and Women* of the Time' will be the expanded title of the new edition of 'Men of the Time,' to be issued in the spring by Geo. Routledge & Sons.

Macmillan & Co. will publish shortly 'Studies in Literature,' by John Morley, and a new nine-volume edition of the 'Cambridge Shakspere,' revised by W. Aldis Wright.

The Cassell Publishing Co. have nearly ready, in two volumes, T. Wemyss Reid's 'Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton.'

The United States Book Co. will be the American publishers of Dr. Japp's edition of the posthumous works of De Quincey, and of Mr. Edmund Gosse's authorized translation of Ibsen's latest play, "Hedda Gabler."

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Unwin Brothers, Little Bridge Street, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C., invite subscriptions to an ordinary and a large-paper limited edition of the 'Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D.,' begun by the late lamented John Eglington Bailey, author of the best Life of that worthy, and carried through by Mr. W. E. A. Axon. Each edition will be in two volumes. Many of the sermons are very rare.

Among the publications of the English Folk-Lore Society for 1890 is an interesting and valuable 'Handbook of Folklore,' edited by Mr. G. L. Gomme, Director of the Society. The object of this modest little volume is to give a definition of folklore and directions for its collection. The first chapter attempts to explain what folklore is and to classify it in twenty-one classes, under four general heads: superstitious belief and practice (nine subdivisions); traditional customs (four subdivisions); traditional narratives (four subdivisions); and folk-sayings (three subdivisions). Each of the twenty-one chapters which follow contains a definition of the particular class of folklore treated therein, and a few typical examples, "illustrating the way in which the folklorist compares and identifies the beliefs, customs, and traditions of modern ages." Then follows, in most of the chapters, a series of questions (there are 784 in all) for the direction of collectors. In chapter xv., "Folk Tales, Hero Tales, Drolls," Mr. Baring Gould's convenient classification (adapted from J. G. von Hahn) of "story radicals" (seventy classes) is given, and it would be well for future collectors of popular tales to observe this arrangement as far as possible, in order to facilitate reference. In conclusion, three chapters treat of the way to collect folklore, library work, and a sketch of the Folk-Lore Society. In the second of these three chapters an account is given of the elaborate tabulation of folk-tales and customs undertaken by the Society, instalments of which are printed from time to time in the journal of the Society (now published under the name of *Folk-Lore*, a Quarterly Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, and Custom). Mr. Gomme's book is deserving of wide circulation, and will undoubtedly do much to increase the interest already felt in the subject.

We have received the second annual issue of the 'Public Schools Year-Book' published in London by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. It is edited by three public-school men of Eton, Harrow, and Winchester, and has every mark of system and thoroughness. Some American parents may find their account in the information imparted about preparatory schools, examination papers, admission, studies, charges, scholarships, prizes, etc. The second part, about two-thirds as full as the first part, is wholly given up to athletics; and this may attract our college undergraduates. One of the appendices records and classifies the educational books of the year.

In the 'American Manual of Photography' for 1891 (New York: Scovill & Adams Co.) the most noticeable feature is an interesting collection of twelve portraits of Daguerre. Several of these are from daguerreotypes, and in one case we have both a process print from the somewhat battered original, and Kruell's wood-engraving from the same, properly reversed. The daguerreotype of 1848 has never before been reproduced, and is one of the best of the series.

The exigencies of Boston University, with its mixed classes, have forced Prof. Lindsay, in editing 'The Satires of Juvenal' (American Book Company), to omit whole satires and mutilate others beyond ordinary precedent. Such editions will make us doubt seriously if colleges constructed on the theory of coeducation must not at last consent to strike certain classical authors out of their course altogether, rather than use them in a form which can only lead to a distorted and incorrect notion of their contents. The editor's notes, too, show great absence of proportion. Considerations of text occupy too much room for beginners, while advanced students—and only such ought to attempt the study of Juvenal—will be teased by the most elementary translations and comments. There is the fashionable profusion of pictures, including a reduction of Gérôme's "Circus Maximus"; but Prof. Lindsay's scholarship finds no real chance to show itself under so many hampering conditions.

A good selection of Cicero's letters edited for colleges is such a desideratum that our anticipations were strongly raised by Prof. Montague's 'Selected Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero' (Philadelphia: Eldredge & Brother); but it is a very disappointing book. The letters are selected almost wholly for their historical importance, and hence some extremely hard ones are given, and given early, while the editor, like too many editors of Cicero's letters, neglects the profusion of short, simple, and easy letters to Tiro and Terentia, which throw no light indeed on Clodius or Cæsar, but form an admirable introduction to epistolary Latin and Cicero's domestic history. The book is loaded with extracts from all sorts of familiar manuals like Forsyth's 'Life of Cicero,' and some very antiquated ones, like Zumpt's Grammar and Leverett's Lexicon. Tedious elementary information about subjunctives, to be found in every grammar, and known to every teacher, fills up space belonging properly to explanation of local and specific difficulties. Obsolete spellings like *otii*, *conticerentur*, are retained; in one place the note assumes *haud* when there is none in the text; and elsewhere the impossible date *A. D ii Kal: Mai:* appears.

M. Édouard Rouveyre, a Parisian publisher, who has already deserved well of all book-lovers for his sumptuous volumes on the fine art of book-binding, has now begun the issue of a new "Bibliothèque des Connaissances utiles aux Amis des Livres" with a volume on 'Les Ex-libris et les Marques de possession du Livre,' by M. Henri Bouchot (New York: F. W. Christern), which pleasantly supplements the information in Poulet-Malassis's amusing monograph and in the more ponderous book of Mr. Leicester Warren. M. Henri Bouchot points out that the book-plate had its origin in Germany, where the art of book-binding was never cherished, and that in the beginning the book-lovers who were clothing their precious volumes in gilded morocco bearing their arms, emblem, motto or name, scorned the mere paper-label of Teutonic origin. Nowadays, however, every true book-lover has his book-plate, and nowhere is the ingenuity of French taste more advantageously displayed than in the making of these dainty devices. Even in inartistic England, the fancy is spreading; and Mr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Laurence Hutton have already written about American book-plates.

A winter trip to California is coming more and more into vogue with those who can spare the time and money, and the Sandwich Islands, too, are commending themselves as a pleasant and inexpensive excursion from San Francisco. The round trip can now be made for $125, the time required for reaching the islands being a week. This information, with a great deal more of value and interest to travellers, is given in 'The Tourist's Guide through the Hawaiian Islands,' compiled by H. M. Whitney and published by the *Hawaiian Gazette* Company at Honolulu. It contains four maps of the different islands, and twenty illustrations of the finest scenery. In describing the volcanoes, the editor has quoted freely from the writings of others, especially Miss Bird, whose book, though a little out of date, is still the most readable work on Hawaii. Of course, the information given in it as to routes and travel conveniences holds good no longer, and in this respect Mr. Whitney's guide will prove a useful supplement. There are now two regular routes to the volcano of Kilauea. On one of these the tourist is surprised to come across a railway of twenty miles, on which a bye-excursion can be made; and almost as much, on reaching the Volcano House, at finding there a stove, a liberal supply of food, a parlor with easy-chairs, and even a small library. Several pages are devoted to the leper settlement at Molokai.

We lately had occasion to notice the 'Cyclopædia of the Manufactures and Products of the United States' published by the Seeger & Guernsey Co. of this city. The firm have now made a Spanish edition of the work, in which the *indice de los articulos* alone fills nearly a hundred pages. The undertaking is one that makes for peace as the McKinley tariff makes for war. Mr. Cleveland is quoted in a testimonial as saying of this Cyclopædia that "its contents ought to stir the pride of every American, and suggest to him that our industries are no longer infantile." This expression is much within bounds.

With other college catalogues, those of Harvard and Yale come to us, full of significance of the training to be got at either institution, and with interesting differences in the scheme of display. Together with them we receive the Treasurer's report of the Harvard Law School Association, which has made a prodigious growth during the past year, the accessions exceeding the first year's membership as well as the accessions of all the intervening years put together. The Law School's own membership, it appears—very likely *propter hoc*—has kept pace with the increase in the Association, whose total membership is now 1,612; more than half being credited to Massachusetts (643) and New York (222).

Mr. Henry F. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England," in the January issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, are divided between Harvard College and Washington. The Hollis family, so conspicuous for munificence among the early benefactors of the College, is here presented in the wills of several generations; and there is a good body of testamentary and other evidence concerning Lawrence Washington the emigrant, which serves to fix the date of his coming over to Virginia. The Washington connection, also, of Sandyses and Spencers is developed at some length with satisfactory results. Mr. John Ward Dean adds his interesting discovery concerning Roger Williams's first love and rejected suit which has been already made known to our readers. The thirty-second paper of the Rev. George M. Bodge's exhaustive researches relative to the "Soldiers in King Philip's War" begins a general review of the events of that war. He thus binds together the several narratives in which the personnel and the fortunes of each company have been set forth.

Those who are interested pro or con in the American origin of 'Mother Goose Melodies' will find in the Boston *Commonwealth* of December 27, 1890, a return to the subject on the part of Mr. W. H. Whitmore, clinching, if possible, his negative argument already elaborated

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in his curious volume published by Joel Munsell's Sons in Albany. A letter from the most effective promoter of the American legend, the late William A. Wheeler, is the chief feature of the article.

The second paper on "The Preludes of Harper's Ferry—John Brown, Guerrilla," appears in the *Andover Review* for January. From a note-book of the Kansas period it reproduces memoranda of the effect produced on John Brown by the reading of Stocqueler's Life of Wellington, particularly in what relates to the Peninsular campaign and the operations of the Spanish guerrillas. The rest of the paper is supplementary to Sanborn's narrative in the Life of Brown.

President Gilman of Johns Hopkins opens the new *Educational Review*, edited by Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler (New York: Henry Holt & Co.), with a brief article on the "Shortening of the College Curriculum," mostly in the nature of a summary, but with the suggestion that the beginning of college life be brought back to an earlier age—sixteen for the average student. There are four other leading articles, by William T. Harris, Josiah Royce, Andrew S. Draper, and Charles De Garmo; Discussions, as on coeducation in Boston, the Bennett Law in Wisconsin, etc.; Editorials, and Reviews. The *Review* is attractively printed.

Teachers of the classics and all students of educational systems and methods will be interested in a new German magazine, which the recent widespread discussion of proposed reforms in the curriculum of the gymnasia has called into existence. The quarterly is entitled *Das Humanistische Gymnasium*, and is edited by Director Uhlig of the Heidelberg Gymnasium and published by Carl Winter in Heidelberg, at a yearly subscription of two marks. Dr. Uhlig is known among educationists through his syllabus of the courses of the study in the various German gymnasia and other pedagogical writings, and to Hellenists by his work in the Greek grammarians, in particular his edition of Dionysios Thrax. At the recent educational congress in Berlin he was one of the most prominent figures. The magazine represents in general the cause of gradual and cautious reform of existing institutions as against the proposals of radical change and overthrow. It will contain full reports of current discussions and of educational conferences, as well as original papers by the leading educators of Germany. A remittance of sixty cents will cover subscription and postage.

Petermann's Mitteilungen for December contains the closing part of Prof. Ratzel's summary of the scientific results of the Stanley expedition, and a paper on the rainfall of Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, with four maps showing the amount at each of the four seasons of the year. An interesting indication of the variety and extent of the geographical literature of the past year is given in the index to the notices of books and papers on geographical subjects which have appeared in the scientific serials. The whole number of notices is 2,475, of which 523 are of a general character, including histories of geography and biographies of travellers. Of the remainder, 753 are devoted to Europe alone; Africa having but 408, and America following a close third, with 391. Australia and Polynesia are fourth with 175, and Asia is fifth with only 118. This comparatively small number is probably to be explained, not by lack of interest, but by the difficulties and dangers still attending explorers in the remote regions of that continent. There were sixty notices of works and papers on the oceans, and forty-seven on the Polar regions.

The second winter meeting of the Geological Society of America, recently held in Washington, was an even greater success than the first meeting a year ago in New York. The attendance included representative men from all sections of the country, although the geologists of the National Survey naturally made a large part of the number present. The papers read were generally of excellent quality, and promise a large and valuable volume of bulletins for the coming year. It is difficult to select a few titles from the large number for brief mention; but all who were present must certainly recall with especial interest and pleasure the reports by Mr. Hayes on two peculiarly complex Appalachian overthrusts in Georgia, and by Mr. Russell on his explorations last summer among the mountains and glaciers of Alaska. The summer meeting of the Society will be again in Washington, falling between the sessions of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the International Geological Congress.

Mr. A. F. Ernst writes to us from Watertown, Wis., of a recent controversy in these columns: "You allow the Missouri Lutherans to be attacked in the *Nation* in a manner so incorrect and unjust that I must believe 'Andover' to be a personal enemy of them. And your readers must believe that the Missourians are the Lutherans. That is all wrong. In our Central Committee, consisting of fifteen members, there were just two so-called Missourians; and though they helped us as much as all the rest, they neither led nor originated the movement."

A serious typographical error made us say last week that the annual fee of membership in the American Dialect Society is ten dollars, whereas it is but one dollar. The Secretary's address, we will repeat, is Mr. E. S. Sheldon, No. 27 Hurlbut Street, Cambridge, Mass. In the same unlucky paragraph, "biographies" was printed for "bibliographies."

—The *Atlantic* opens the year with a light travel-paper, the first of a series, describing the journey of the author, Mr. Percival Lowell, to Noto, an outlying province of Japan. The present sketch does not take him to his destination, but narrates the incidents of the way, and paints the scenery with that delight in the people and the country which is the common charm of all who are now writing on the subject. Mr. Lowell differs from the rest mainly by putting more of himself into the page and never being dull, though it must be said that his intellectual vivacity or nimble-mindedness sometimes becomes acrobatic. The remainder of the number is somewhat heavily packed with serious matter. Two articles upon education are of interest, but particularly the plea, by Cleveland Abbe, for courses in terrestrial physics in the universities. The state of our knowledge about the subject is set forth and the lines of immediate investigation are pointed out, with so much detail that the paper is really of the sort usually found in scientific periodicals. Prof. Royce's account of Hegel is also a novel topic, out of the common course of the general reader's opportunities to enrich his knowledge; but it cannot be said that the expositor has succeeded in bringing Hegel within the reach of popular comprehension—he is as obstinately metaphysical and recondite as ever. There are two political articles, one on Boulangism, the other on the lesson of the recent election in Pennsylvania, by Mr. Henry C. Lea, on which we commented last week. A very thoughtful examination of the means by which the State may exert some control over railway-strikes and other labor contests is contributed by Mr. Charles Worcester Clark, whose discussions of public questions we have before had occasion to recommend to our readers. The temperateness of the view taken is, in this as in the other instances, a striking characteristic. His discussion of the penalties to be imposed in case of the rejection of arbitration is perhaps the most suggestive, as it certainly is the most difficult, part of the paper.

—The *Century* brings the long-awaited Talleyrand memoirs in the rather unsatisfactory shape of excerpts. Minister Reid furnishes an introduction, which is not a remarkable performance. The memoirs themselves, in this instalment, deal with Talleyrand's childhood, and part of his life through the time of his visit to America. The principal persons especially mentioned are the Duke of Orleans and Alexander Hamilton. The disjointedness of the paper, however, with its parenthetical notices of what is omitted, is unfortunate and vexatious to the reader; but whether the lack of vigor in the personal impression of Talleyrand is due to this cause is uncertain. It seems clear that the writer has passed over some of the salient points of his career with silence. The running comment on public policy and on his own principles of action are the most interesting portions, but the lack of portraiture and narrative is noticeable. It appears likely, however, that these memoirs will be an advantage to Talleyrand's historical reputation. We must not pass over the shocking English of the translation, which is not only ungrammatical and slipshod, but full of French idioms and phrases often quite unintelligible. What, for instance, does this mean? "She desired M. de Mercy to oppose the appointment of a French cardinal before the *promotion of the crowns. . . . Since then, my cardinal's hat is likely to have spent a few years in French fortresses.*" The second main subject in the number is California, which is the occasion of two articles and several pieces of ana. The Thibetan journey goes on, with no great vivacity in this chapter, among the Mongols of the Azure Lake. Octave Thanet contributes a very interesting picture of the Irish famine from the papers of an "Irish gentlewoman"; and not altogether out of harmony with this is the sketch of the estates and country houses of the planters of the Lower James, with some historically valuable cuts of architecture and interiors. A fine portrait of Saint-Gaudens by Kenyon Cox is the artistic feature of the number, and with it goes a eulogistic sketch of the painter. The war is represented by a well-joined block of reminiscences of "Morgan's Rough Riders" by participants in the events narrated.

—Mr. Gosse writes in the *Forum* of the probable future of poetry; and though the question has been much debated, he restates some phases of it with cleverness. He disabuses the reader at once of the notion that popular interest in verse is any sign of present excellence or future productivity. A great genius may be unnoticed by his contemporaries, and, on the other hand, many an inferior writer has been the laureate of the age. The really new condition in the present is obviously the competition which our poets are forced to bear from the whole body of the dead. Until within the last half-century, the public read the writers of its time; but the antiquarian interest that has resulted in supplying us with editions of the poets of every English reign, and countless volumes of selections, has made

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the struggle of new writers for recognition more difficult than in the case of the Elizabethans, the eighteenth-century poets, or even the Romanticists of this century. Mr. Gosse foretells a reaction and a coming intolerance of these older works; but, on his own theory that recognition does not affect the appearance of original genius, this wider competition should have no effect, except by discouraging new poets, and discouragement has frequently given the true poet only a sweeter and more piercing note. In forecasting the probable course of the verse of the next age, Mr. Gosse intimates that it will succeed more by matter than manner, that it will take the form of narrative in highly developed rhyme and music, discarding blank verse; that it will revive the drama (a dream which others indulge, and which will come true if it is held long enough); and that it will be "very bare and direct, unembroidered, perhaps even arid in character," and "experimental rather than descriptive, human rather than animal." He does not look for any reversion to didacticism, but nevertheless holds that there is much in the gathered stores of modern knowledge that issues in spiritual moods, and in hopes and fears for which only poetry can provide expression; and he anticipates a special characteristic impressed by the democratic social movement. He is, after all, an interested rather than inspired prophet, and deals with the convenient may-be, not the shall-be of thorough conviction. Meanwhile the muse keeps her counsel, with quite the taciturnity of nature, according to her ancient wont.

—The movement for "university extension" marks the progress of the democratic ideal in education. An indication of the vigor of this movement in America comes to us in the Constitution and Circular of the "University and School Extension." This association, a sort of Chautauqua of higher grade, designs "to supplement and to strengthen the university and the school systems; to increase the culture and to promote the interests of teachers as members of a profession; and to advance and extend the knowledge of letters and of the arts and sciences." The Executive Committee of the University Extension Faculty consists of Presidents Dwight, Patton, and Low; Dr. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education; Norman A. Calkins, and Seth T. Stewart. The President of the Board of Directors is James W. Alexander, representing Princeton College; and the Vice-Presidents are Chauncey M. Depew, representing Yale; Charles S. Fairchild, Harvard; and W. Bayard Cutting, Columbia. The Society aims to be national in character. State and local societies are to be formed as auxiliaries. The constitution provides that "the Faculty of the University Extension shall consist of a president and professors appointed by him from the universities and colleges in the several States, on the nomination of their respective presidents, and, if deemed expedient, from among prominent specialists not professors of colleges. The four institutions [Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia] represented in the first organization of the University Extension shall be entitled to equal representation, and each State shall be entitled to at least one member in the Faculty." The means of instruction are "outlines for courses of study, class instruction, courses of lectures, correspondence, examinations, etc." Syllabuses have already been prepared in Language, English Literature, History, and Science. Among the specialists who have prepared these outlines are Profs. Child, Macvane, Kittredge, and Shaler of Harvard; Ladd, Peck, and Seymour of Yale; Young of Princeton, and Theodore Dwight of Columbia. Other syllabuses are in process of publication.

—What the English have done in this direction has been told in the address recently given in Washington and Boston by Prof. R. G. Moulton of the University of Cambridge. Prof. Moulton, we believe, is one of the committee appointed by that university, in connection with Oxford, to have charge of this work, and, having given nearly all his time to it for fifteen years, not only as manager, but directly as lecturer, believes enthusiastically in its value, both as bringing learning within reach of the hundreds or thousands of adults already longing for it, and in spreading among a larger class a knowledge of possibilities in the way of education of which they had no idea; and, above all, for the reflex action upon the teaching body of the universities derived from their vicarious contact with the people through the university lecturers. Then, if we consider lectures as a means of education rather than of amusement, the superiority of the English system as compared with our so-called lyceum lectures is obvious. Again, a most important feature is that each course (of twelve lectures) is given to one subject—not Tennyson this week, Astronomy next, and Nihilism after that. As compared even with course lectures, such as those of the Lowell Institute, in this country, the English system has great advantages, first, in the application of the principle that the lecturer's business is not to give instruction (this being done by authorities named in the printed syllabus of the course), but to create or to stimulate the desire to learn; and, by means of the hour "class" held before the lecture, to exert personal influence and, incidentally, to get at the particular wants of the audience.

—A valuable aid to the student of modern German literature is Max Koch's select edition of Karl Immermann's 'Werke' in four volumes (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1890), issued as numbers 159 and 160 of Kürschner's "Deutsche Nationalliteratur." Immermann was unquestionably a poet of superior, although essentially imitative, talent. His dramas, even when they represent scenes from contemporary life, are all patterned after some model—Shakspere, Calderon, Goethe, Schiller, or other typical author, whom he happened to be studying; as reading they are not especially animating, and have proved utterly ineffective on the stage. The same holds true, in a great measure, of his imaginative prose writings. The influence of 'Wilhelm Meister' is traceable on every page of 'Die Epigonen,' which, in turn, had sufficient vitality and plastic force in it to inspire and shape the earlier romances of Gutzkow, Freytag, and Spielhagen. The only production of Immermann's that is an independent and really original creation is 'Münchhausen,' the best part of which, and indeed the only part that can be enjoyed and fully appreciated by the reader of to-day, is the charming episode of Westphalian peasant life, now published separately under the title of 'Der Oberhof.' 'Münchhausen' proper is not only the persiflage of an impecunious and unprincipled *Junkerthum* or squirarchy, but also a satire on all the social, political, and literary tendencies of the time, in caricaturing which the author enters into details familiar only to a few of his contemporaries, and utterly forgotten by the present generation. Dr. Max Koch, in his annotations to 'Münchhausen,' has taken great pains to follow out and explain the drift of these obscure allusions, and has thus provided the work with a commentary which in fulness and accuracy leaves nothing to be desired. It is a monument of literary industry; whether the game was worth the candle or not is another question. It is certain, however, that no one who wishes nowadays to read 'Münchhausen' and understand it, can do so without Koch's edition.

NICOLAY AND HAY'S LINCOLN.—II.

Abraham Lincoln: A History. By John G. Nicolay and John Hay. 10 vols. 8vo. New York: The Century Co.

In military matters the cautious but steady progress of Mr. Lincoln towards asserting himself was interestingly marked. He evidently began with the idea that the art and mystery of military strategy was the result of long and laborious education. But contact with Scott and McDowell and McClellan and Meigs and Franklin soon taught him that its professors widely differed among themselves. He read authoritative treatises, and found that nothing over which so much noise has been made is in fact so simple. To know where your enemy is, how strong he is, and to learn the theatre of operations as if you had lived in it and hunted over it from childhood—these are the elements out of which a courageous heart and cool head solves the rest of the problem by striking your *forte* against his *faible*. By the opening of 1862 he thoroughly understood this, and never forgot it. His criticisms of his generals in the Virginia campaigns go straight to the mark. They pierce through all assumptions of unuttered military wisdom and mysterious plan. His letter to McClellan giving details of a proposed movement from Antietam in October, 1862, showed that he was as familiar with the mountain gaps of Virginia as with the street-crossings around the White House. It simply demonstrated the success of the movement if it were pushed with vigor. Indeed, it was the fashion, before it was known that Lincoln was its author, to argue, in certain circles, that its excellence proved the singular capacity of McClellan as a general and the singular incapacity of the Administration that removed him. We now know that Lincoln resolved on the removal because the plan was not executed as it demonstrably might have been.

In dealing with matters at a distance the President sometimes misjudged; but no worse than Halleck and his other advisers. Few people could make a very good guess at the distance, say, from Calcutta to Hong Kong in a straight line. We are used to maps of foreign parts on a small scale, and we have no ready unit of measurement when we think of the few inches on the map. The authorities at Washington in the fall of 1863 seemed to think Burnside could move from the Watauga River on the confines of East Tennessee and Virginia to Chattanooga, or that Sherman could march from Memphis to Rosecrans's assistance, with about the same ease that a division could march from Washington to Bull Run or to the Rappahannock at furthest. Few were willing to make the effort to learn what breadth of country and what mountain chains and rivers lay within the scope of the little space they covered on the common map. Indeed, we may doubt if such an effort is ever thoroughly made by anybody less painstaking than an officer of the German General Staff. It was not strange, then, that Mr. Lincoln should sometimes slip on the topography of distant regions. He was equal to any one about him in his comprehension of the military

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problem and the proper methods, in general, for its solution.

In reading the history of the time we cannot help wishing that Mr. Lincoln had sometimes put his military suggestions in the form of imperative orders. He so often and so plainly pointed out the right thing to do, that the command to do it was the only appropriate conclusion for the despatch. Halleck was less suggestive and more unwilling to assume responsibility than the President. His maxim that a general in command of an army must not be ordered to move or to attack, was the cause of many a fiasco. When Longstreet was going to reinforce Bragg in September, 1863, and Meade was unwilling to attack Lee's reduced forces unless ordered to do so, not to give the order was to abdicate the position of general-in-chief of the army. Mr. Lincoln might well hesitate to command when he found Halleck so set against it, but he was sometimes forced to intervene peremptorily, and the fullest knowledge of the facts which we can now get justifies the wish that he had done so oftener. After the progress of the war had developed in Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan commanders whose energy needed no prompting, Mr. Lincoln showed his modest self-poise by withdrawing from active effort to influence their action; but from first to last his grasp of the military situation was quite as clear and strong as that of any of his professional advisers.

In dealing with his generals in high command, Mr. Lincoln was patient, sympathetic, and free (too free, if anything) from the assumption of power or control. He saw the weaknesses of men, and was tolerant of them because he doubted whether things would be bettered by change in commanders. No one ever acted more constantly upon the rule that it is "better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." With this was curiously blended a deference to assumed public opinion, in the army or in the country, which sometimes looked like want of proper self-confidence. There was no need of removing McDowell after the first battle of Bull Run. Scott was still general-in-chief, and everybody now knows, what the President then knew, that the tactical handling of the army on the field had been good and the disaster was not the fault of McDowell. A brief proclamation saying so, and appealing to the people to be patient, would, as it now looks, have been met with an encouraging response. In a similar way, after the second defeat on that field, he knew and declared that Pope had done all that could be expected of him. It was understood that Halleck was to take the field with McClellan and Pope as his immediate subordinates when the Army of the Potomac landed at Alexandria. A Presidential command was needed to overcome Halleck's inertia. Had it been given, the services of both the younger men might have been continued to the advantage of the country. But though Mr. Lincoln gave to Pope a strong written approval of what he had done, a popular clamor was supposed to make a necessity for retiring him from active service. It looks again as if Mr. Lincoln had underestimated the influence he could exert upon public opinion by taking the country into his confidence through a few earnest words.

In dealing with those in high command, he had not only been personally kind and patient, he had ignored political preferences and party politics. In making subordinate military appointments and promotions, he did not disguise the fact that political influences were powerful. An example which his biographers have brought into renewed prominence by their effort to prove him always ideally right, is typical, not only of his methods and his standpoint, but also, we are sorry to say, of the manner in which Messrs. Nicolay and Hay deal with facts when they stand in the way of their theory. The case is that of Gen. Sherman's celebrated protest against certain promotions made in his army, during the Atlanta campaign, without consulting him.

The biographers say: (1.) That Sherman "regarded Washington with whimsical horror as a sink of corruption and iniquity, and thought that no good could come out of it." (2.) "This prepossession sometimes had ludicrous results," *e. g.*, (3.) Osterhaus was made a major-general, and Sherman wrote on July 25 an angry despatch to Washington saying, "If the rear be the post of honor, then we had better all change front on Washington." (4.) "This despatch was shown to the President, who, instead of resenting its tone of disrespect and insubordination, wrote in his kindliest and calmest manner a letter to Gen. Sherman, in which he informed him that the promotion of Osterhaus had been made upon written recommendations from no less trustworthy sources than Gens. Grant and Sherman," *i. e.*, at the close of the Vicksburg campaign of the preceding year. (5.) That these recommendations had "somewhat faded" from Sherman's mind. (6.) That Sherman "frankly acknowledged his error, and repeats in his Memoirs that he was 'fairly caught.'" (7.) That "the Government bore him no malice for this incident. They continued to comply heartily with every request he made." (8.) "They even offered him, voluntarily, eight promotions to the grade of brigadier-general to be distributed on his recommendation among the most meritorious colonels of his command." (9.) "It is curiously characteristic of the General that in his Memoirs he attributes this proof of signal favor to the Osterhaus letter."

We must examine a little in detail this "curiously characteristic" statement.

(1.) Sherman had advised Halleck and Grant that the vicinity of Washington was a perilous place for a general because of the facility for intrigues by subordinates and by the political "influences" there. The experience of McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, and Meade had, each in turn, demonstrated it, and every writer of history, including the biographers, had noted it. The "whimsical horror" must therefore be put in the category of rhetorical depreciation for the sake of making the rest of the case easier.

(2.) The present case could only be "ludicrous" to those who have no glimmering of the conditions of good military administration. To others it has been the reverse.

(3.) There were two brigadiers promoted, not one. Sherman's Memoirs say they were "Generals Osterhaus and Alvan P. Hovey." Sherman's reason, which he repeated in his despatch to the President of July 27, was that "they had gone to the rear—the one (Hovey) offended because I could not unite in the same division five infantry and five cavalry regiments, and the other (Osterhaus) for temporary sickness." The "offended" officer had, of course, either asked to be relieved or tendered his resignation, and the papers were officially forwarded to Washington. The omission of the graver case by the biographers tends to belittle Sherman's position.

(4.) The despatch was addressed to Col. Hardie, Inspector-General, and Sherman had no idea that the President would see it, or know more of it than that he regarded the promotions as "an act of injustice to officers who stand by their posts in the day of danger."

(5.) Sherman had not forgotten his former recommendations of these or others. There were recommendations for promotion dating from Vicksburg, not only, but from Stone's River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, Knoxville, that were not acted upon. The time and circumstances of the selection made the cause of complaint. It was, or ought to have been, an understood condition of promotion, under old recommendations, that there should be continued meritorious conduct down to the time of confirming the new grade. Sherman's complaint was that the case was the opposite of this. He knew, too (what the biographers are too familiar with the War Department records to have overlooked), that at that very time captains and lieutenants were being summarily dismissed the army for tendering their resignations when their commands were in the presence of the enemy.

(6.) Sherman confessed no error in the matter. He simply assured Mr. Lincoln that the despatch was not meant for his eye, and that he had loyal confidence in the President. On the other hand, he repeated, in more measured phrase, every assertion he had made, and said to Mr. Lincoln himself: "I do think you will admit that their promotion . . . was enough to occasion disappointment." The words "fairly caught" in his Memoirs only "fairly" mean that his sense of humor recognized Mr. Lincoln's good-natured and "characteristic" use of the adroit *argumentum ad hominem*.

(7.) Mr. Lincoln was far too clear-sighted and just to "bear malice" when the error was his own. His answer to Sherman (which is not given in the History) confessed that he felt obliged to make military promotions under political "influences." It was a formal apology for what he had done, and we honor his memory best by earnestly believing that he laid the lesson to heart with the teachableness that we admire so much in him. His biographers do not seem to appreciate the facts they narrate; for they themselves, in another place, have repeated the rather hackneyed but always successful jest about the boy throwing a stone at random in Washington city and hitting three brigadiers seeking promotion, when it was not a very good day in Washington for brigadiers, either.

(8.) When the eight promotions of colonels were put at the nomination of Sherman, he named them on the recommendation of division, corps, and army commanders, for gallant and meritorious services in the campaign; and in his Memoirs he emphasizes the advantage to the army of making promotions in this way and not the other. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Administration did *not*, with these, offer him, "voluntarily" or otherwise, any promotions to the rank of major-general; those had been already disposed of, as we have seen.

(9.) The connection between the correspondence and the authority to name eight colonels for promotion is this: The despatches were all telegraphic. Sherman's protest to Col. Hardie was dated July 25, 1863; Mr. Lincoln's answer is dated 26th; Sherman's reply is dated 27th; and the authority to promote is dated 28th. We believe the biographers will stand alone in imputing it to vanity in Sherman that he connected the action of the 28th with the correspondence of the 25th, 26th, and 27th.

It would be very difficult, in so narrow a compass, to find so many examples of what history ought not to be. It might well serve

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as a *Seminar* exercise for university students testing history, according to modern methods, in original sources. We are obliged, however, to repeat that it is typical. There is hardly a prominent name of the great war period that is not subjected to a similar process of belittling by innuendo, and of condemning by half-statement or by distorted statement of facts. Seward, Chase, Stanton, Bates, the Blairs, Wade, Winter Davis, Greeley, all foremost men in the Administration party, suffer in this way. Their moments of weakness are made the criterion of their characters, and the anecdotes which put them in an unfavorable light are those by which we are asked to judge. This depreciation is systematic and persistent. Each is treated to perfunctory praise for patriotism and ability, and each in turn is pictured in the concrete as unworthy of the praise. It would often be as easy to expose the injustice of this as in the example of Sherman. It will, of course, be gradually done. The epoch was too important, and the interest of the country in her foremost citizens is too great, to let any partial view stand for the history of the time. The thing chiefly to be regretted is that Lincoln, who needs no such belittling of others to stand as the central figure among his contemporaries, should have his memory thus linked to any wrong to them.

This criticism applies only to what may be called Lincoln's personal relations to other men. Frequently recurring as such passages are, they are a small part of the book. The great current of events, both civil and military, is pictured with vividness and with success. The standpoint of a writer must always affect his view, but, in the general way of which we are now speaking, the estimate of events and of men, of campaigns and of generals, is fair and able. No one who has strong and well-defined opinions will find his views always in accord with the writers, but he will differ no oftener than he would with any other historians.

In trying to picture Mr. Lincoln as he lived, the modern methods of physical portraiture come happily in to give satisfaction to our realistic tendencies. The publishers have provided a dozen excellent reproductions of photographs, of paintings, and of statuary. The invention of Daguerre often gives us a hardened caricature of a man with no soul in it. Such photographs are worse than death-masks. But the hardest subject is sometimes caught in happy moments, and out of vast numbers of repellent pictures we may find some that help us to understand the person. Among these of Mr. Lincoln several help us to see the wisdom and the charity, the shrewdness and the friendliness, the clear intellect and the latent will that inhabited his homely form. The frontispiece to the first volume is a satisfactory presentation of the man that was nominated in 1860. The life-mask taken at the same time is strong, with grave prophecy in its lines of the statesman grappling with his task. The picture taken from the photograph of the group in front of McClellan's tent at Antietam shows him towering, like Saul, above other men, while it is thoroughly characteristic in its pose and its slight stoop. The sitting picture of Lincoln and his son "Tad," with its not ungraceful repose and its unconscious dignity, appeals to everybody. The life-mask of 1865 is strong and pathetic, showing a great man who in four years has passed from iron vigor to waning age, but still fit to be the Nestor of his people.

The illustrations have been judiciously restricted to portraits of men who have some prominence in the narrative, very few of any other sort being retained. They make a gallery worthy of study as types of race and character, apart from their connection with the story.

TREES OF NORTH AMERICA.

The Silva of North America; a Description of the Trees which Grow naturally in North America, exclusive of Mexico. By Charles Sprague Sargent, Director of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. Illustrated with figures and analyses drawn from nature by Charles Edward Faxon, and engraved by Philibert and Eugène Picart. Volume I. Magnoliaceæ–Ilicineæ. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. Large quarto, pp. ix., 119, tt. 50.

MICHAUX published his 'Histoire des Arbres Forestiers de l'Amérique Septentrionale' in 1810–13. The work was in three quarto volumes, and contained one hundred and forty-five colored plates, while the number of species of trees described was one hundred and fifty-five. Some years later an English translation was published at Philadelphia; and three additional volumes by Thomas Nuttall contained one hundred and twenty-two plates, with descriptions of nearly as many trees, some of them from Florida and others from the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Coast. There was a still later edition also. These books, with Emerson's 'Trees of Massachusetts,' were for many years the chief available works for the student of American trees; for Lambert's magnificent 'Description of the Genus Pinus' is so rare and costly that few Americans have ever even seen it. Government reports have described some of the trees of the Pacific Coast, and the various Floras of different sections of the country have given brief accounts of the trees of their respective districts; but there was no systematic account of the whole silva of the United States, no one work in which one could find figured and described the sequoias of California, the hickories of the East, and the palms of Florida.

Prof. Sargent was charged with the task of making a report on the forests of North America for the Tenth Census. To do this he visited all portions of the country, collecting specimens of all the trees he could find—leaves, flowers, fruit, wood, and bark—and making notes on their habit, distribution, uses, cultivation, abundance, and destruction. He also availed himself of the observations and collections made by many able assistants and correspondents. His report forms the ninth volume of the final report on the Tenth Census. He found not less than four hundred and twelve different kinds of woody plants which attain the dignity of trees. After enumerating them, with full references to their bibliography, he gave tables of the specific gravity, and of the resistance to compression and transverse strains of the different kinds of wood, and concluded with a review of the economic aspects of the forests of the United States.

Having finished this work for the nation, he has now undertaken to provide a complete botanical account of all the native trees of the United States and British America. Apart from his other qualifications for this work—and these all botanists know are of a very high order—his long experience as Director of the Arnold Arboretum and his work in preparing his census report have made him preëminently the proper person to write the long-needed new North American Silva. In the choice of an artist to illustrate his work, he has been very fortunate. Mr. Faxon's drawings of ferns in 'The Ferns of North America,' some ten years ago, were highly appreciated, and it is now evident that he has so far perfected himself as a botanical draughtsman that he may be fairly considered in this regard the peer of Sprague and Fitch. His work in the present volume compares favorably with that of Latour and Vivian in the 'Flora Javæ.' If a little stiffness is now and then perceptible in his drawings, it is more than counterbalanced by the accuracy of the abundant details of structure which accompany all the plates. Under the direction of the celebrated Riocreux Mr. Faxon's drawings have been engraved with sympathetic care and artistic nicety, and the result is worthy of the highest praise.

The publishers' circular puts the number of trees to be described in this work at 422, indicating an addition of ten species since the census report was printed. We are informed that Mr. Faxon has already finished the drawings for the entire work, 600 in all, having devoted the last eight years to the task. The engravings for three volumes are already made, and it is the purpose of the publishers to issue two volumes a year until the whole work, consisting of twelve volumes, is completed. When this is done, the silva of no other country will have been so amply described as ours. Perhaps the second place in this respect will belong to New Zealand, for the Colonial Government has recently published a sumptuous folio volume on the forest-flora of those islands. But the 142 plates of that work, though carefully drawn, are only lithographs, and cannot be compared to these excellent copper-plate engravings. Dr. T. Kirk, the writer of the New Zealand 'Forest-flora,' it may be said in passing, has not confined himself to a botanical account of each species, but has devoted much space to the various economic uses of each kind of tree.

The first volume of the 'Silva of North America' contains the descriptions and illustrations of thirty-four trees, beginning with the genus *Magnolia*, and following the usual sequence of natural orders through the holly family (*Ilicineæ*). Out of the twenty known species of magnolia, six are found in the United States, two in Mexico, and the rest are natives of Asia. One of the finest of them all is the Himalayan *Magnolia Campbellii*, which is figured in Hooker and Cathcart's 'Illustrations of Himalayan Plants.' This tree is often eighty feet high, and has a trunk four or five feet thick; the leaves are large, but deciduous, and the great flowers vary in color from white to deep rose-color or almost crimson; they open all over the branchlets in April, while the tree is yet leafless. Our own great magnolia is scarcely less in stature, and has thick and shining evergreen leaves and "deliciously fragrant creamy-white flowers seven or eight inches across when fully expanded," so that it is a question which of the two species is the finest of the genus. The six North American species are given by Prof. Sargent as *Magnolia fœtida*, *M. glauca*, *M. acuminata*, *M. macrophylla*, *M. tripetala*, and *M. Fraseri*.

The first name is proposed instead of *M. grandiflora*, by which designation the most beautiful tree of the Southern States has been known since 1762. Botanists of conservative views in regard to nomenclature, and all persons of good taste who are not botanists, must regard it as singularly unfortunate that Prof. Sargent should feel it necessary to reject a name so fitting and so long recognized as *grandiflora*, and substitute for it the inappropriate and unseemly appellation *fœtida*. His reasons for the change were given in *Garden and Forest*, ii., p. 615. It seems that Linnæus at first supposed all our magnolias to be of one species, and to that he gave the name of

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M. Virginiana, describing the several forms as varieties, and this tree was called *M. Virginiana, var. fœtida*, in 'Species Plantarum,' ed. i. (1753). Nine or ten years later, when the great Swedish botanist had learned more about American trees, he distinguished four kinds of magnolia as species, naming them *M. grandiflora*, *M. glauca*, *M. acuminata*, and *M. tripetala*, dropping the name *Virginiana* altogether, and substituting for the first of his newly recognized species the name *grandiflora*, as being more suitable than *fœtida*. It is now claimed that having once uttered in print the word *fœtida*, Linnæus could never recall it, even though it was proposed as the epithet of a supposed variety, and not as the name of a species! This is enforcing the modern law of priority with a vengeance, and gives it a retroactive effect which our national Constitution denies to civil and criminal law. Linnæus seems to have confessed that in ignorance he had used an ill-chosen expression, for he replaced it by an unobjectionable name. Is it not reasonable to accept his implied apology and adopt the amendment? Surely the great majority of well-advised naturalists will say yes, and this almost peerless tree shall still have an honorable name in botanical science. Even to meet the distinguished author of this book on his own ground, which is "the method which imposes on a plant . . . the oldest specific name used by Linnæus in the first edition of his 'Species Plantarum,' or by any subsequent author," it is pertinent to object that Linnæus did not employ this offensive word as a specific name, and to ask why the Linnæan specific name *Virginiana* was not used for some one of the species which it at first included.

The sweet bay (*Magnolia glauca*) extends its range further to the northeast than any other American species of the genus, for it has long been known in a certain swamp in Gloucester, Mass.; and although the trees are fast being destroyed or removed into gardens, yet we learn from Prof. Robinson that there are still one or two less accessible swamps in Essex County where the tree grows in comparative security.

Next to the magnolias comes the tulip-tree (*Liriodendron Tulipifera*), one of the three largest trees of the forests of the Atlantic States. As *Magnolia* is a genus common to Eastern North America and Eastern Asia, so *Liriodendron* occurs in China as well as in the United States. But in this case the identity is specific, for it is our own tulip-tree that gives its shade to the Celestials. This genus, though now monotypic, was represented during the Cretaceous age by several species, both in America and in Europe. More than a dozen of the ancient tulip-trees are described by palæophytologists, and it seems strange that while none survive in Europe, a solitary species should exist to-day in such widely separated lands as China and our eastern coast. Mr. Theodor Holm of Washington has very recently printed in the 'Proceedings of the National Museum' some "Notes on the Leaves of Liriodendron," in which he endeavors to ascertain what was the form of leaf of the archetypal tulip-tree. Confessing the difficulty of coming to any conclusion, he is "not unwilling to suppose" that it was oblong or acuminate, and not very unlike the magnolia pattern. He also discusses the variation in shape of the leaves of the existing species, and compares the definitions given by different authors. He considers the four-lobed leaf the normal form, but mentions and figures leaves with two, six, and even eight lobes or teeth. In the 'Silva' only the normal four-lobed leaves are described, and no mention is made of the variant forms which may be found growing together on any good-sized tulip-tree; and yet, curiously enough, the specimen from which Mr. Faxon's fine drawing was made has leaves with an extra lobe or tooth on each side.

The papaw of the Middle States (*Asimina triloba*) and the pond-apple of Florida (*Anona glabra*) are the representatives of the custard-apple family, a family much more numerous in tropical countries than in our own. The fruit of our papaw is said to be edible, and at times even sweet and luscious; that of the pond-apple is insipid, though slightly aromatic. Two more Floridian wanderers from the tropics follow next, the Jamaican *Capparis*, and the wild cinnamon (*Canella alba*), the bark of which is used in medicine. Next are the two arborescent species of *Gordonia*, a genus not far from *Camellia* in botanical characters, and somewhat resembling it in general appearance. The loblolly bay (*Gordonia Lasianthus*) is common enough in Southern swamps, but will scarcely live north of Philadelphia. The other species (*Gordonia Altamaha*, or *G. pubescens*, as it has been more commonly called) is one of the few American trees, perhaps the only one, which is now unknown in a wild state, for though it is sometimes found in cultivation, both in our country and in Europe, it seems to have entirely disappeared from its native haunts on the Altamaha River in Georgia, and it is now a century since it was seen growing without cultivation.

Plate xxiii. is a good representation of a branch of a small Californian tree, discovered by Frémont in 1846, and named *Fremontia Californica* by Dr. Torrey in 1850. It is the only North American tree belonging to the same family with the gigantic ceiba (*Eriodendron*) of the West Indies. Three species of linden or basswood follow next. The first (*Tilia Americana*) is a common shade-tree in our streets, and is valued for its timber, which is soft, fine-grained, and easily worked into panels, tables, etc., or hollowed into the common woodenware of our kitchens. The other two species, though beautiful trees, are too rare to be of any commercial importance. One of the trees yielding the exceedingly hard and heavy wood commonly called lignum-vitæ (*Guiacum sanctum*) comes into southern Florida, and so has a place in this 'Silva.' The specific name is thought to have been given to it on account of its supposed wonderful and even miraculous healing virtues. Three southern species of prickly-ash (*Xanthoxylum*) have their places next; then comes the hop-tree (*Ptelea trifoliata*), whose bitter fruits have been used at times as a substitute for hops. Then follow several more less-known tropical trees of our southern peninsula, and on plates xliii. and xliv. is represented the true mahogany (*Swietenia Mahagoni*), which once grew in southern Florida so abundantly as to be cut for exportation, but at the present time is found only sparingly on two of the Keys.

The volume closes with the five arborescent species of holly. The first of them (*Ilex opaca*) is much like the holly of Europe, but lacks the brilliant polish of the upper surface of the leaves. It is very rare in southern New England, is tolerably common along the coast of New Jersey, and is more abundant southward to Florida and in the lower half of the Mississippi Valley. Its spiny-bordered leaves and red berries are gathered for sale about Christmas-time, and its beautiful and almost ivory-white wood is much used in cabinet-work and interior decoration. The botanical names of the Dahoon holly and the Yaupon or Cassena have been more or less confused ever since the time of Linnæus, who supposed them to be varieties of one species. Professor Sargent has chosen names for them in accordance with the method announced in the preface, but at variance with the preferences of most of his predecessors.

The next volume will contain the maples, the buckeyes, and probably the locust trees of various kinds, and will be eagerly watched for by all tree-loving enthusiasts. This latter class would have been gratified if the illustrations could have been so planned as to give portraits of individual trees of the different kinds, as well as faithful engravings of the leaves and flowers, and the details of floral and carpological structure. Emerson has a few such portraits, notably the Charter Oak and the Northampton Elm. A good series of American tree-portraits will undoubtedly come at some future time. *Garden and Forest* is amassing one in the way of photographic process prints.

MOULTON'S ANCIENT CLASSICAL DRAMA.

The Ancient Classical Drama: A Study in Literary Evolution. By Richard G. Moulton. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1890.

Mr. Moulton's book is a study of very ancient material from a novel and interesting point of view. It is perhaps a little alarming to be told in his preface that in the ancient classical drama we see "developments traceable in embryo and on to maturity—unstable forms that continually originate literary changes, reversions to type, and survival of forms long after their *raison d'être* has passed away; while the Drama as a whole will present the double process of growth in simplicity from the indefinite to the regular, and the passage from the simple to the complex." This language, which has a familiar if not seductive sound, shows that the writer has saddled a theory which he rides hard and occasionally rides to death. Yet there is undoubted truth in the basis of his investigation; and the larger part of his work has, moreover, a wider and more practical aim which should commend it to any student of literature. It presents the ancient drama from a purely literary standpoint, and it is addressed to readers in English as well as in the original. It differs, therefore, from the ordinary histories of the classical literatures, such as Müller's, Mahaffy's, or Cruttwell's, in that it assumes no acquaintance whatever with the original languages, and omits largely from consideration the personal or biographical element.

The author has shown skill and resource in the difficult task of introducing his untravelled reader to the flavor of the mangosteen. He does this the more successfully because his own work shows everywhere a fresh and immediate acquaintance with the original sources. He dwells with great variety of illustration on the difference between the ancient and the modern dramatic form and conception, and illustrates this by many felicitous comparisons. The structure of the choral ode, for instance, is instructively contrasted with that of the Psalms. The Phallic Procession, or Comus, in which comedy originated, is paralleled by the curious customs of the Cornish flower-dance, or "Furry," which is still kept up at Helstone on the 8th of May. The transition from satire to satiric acting is explained by a sword-dance, partly lyric, partly dramatic, still practised in Northumberland, in which the performers at

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one time recite a ballad, and again act its contents. The fundamental differences between ancient and modern tragedy are strikingly brought out by a very ingenious version of "Macbeth" arranged as an ancient tragedy. In this arrangement we have all the Greek conventionalities—a permanent scene, the courtyard of Dunsinane Castle, a prologue spoken by *Hecate*, and a chorus consisting of aged clansmen of *Macbeth*; the physician of *Lady Macbeth* speaks a *rhesis* of the Euripidean order, and a messenger, a spy who has been with the British army, describes their approach and the incident of Birnam Wood. On hearing his story, *Macbeth* bursts out in the traditional trochaic metre:

"Ho, mine armour—ring the alarum—give the clamorous trumpets breath;
Bid them speak from every quarter, harbingers of blood and death!
Hang our banners from the ramparts, to our kingdom's utmost bound
Horsemen ride, and yet more horsemen, let them skirr the country round."

This speech is the last of *Macbeth's* crimes. His death, the battle, and the explanation of *Macduff's* birth must be reported, in accordance with the limitations of the Greek stage, by the aid of an English prisoner and messengers. It must have required something of the British hardihood which does not quail before the composition of Greek iambics, to attempt this clever bit of work; but it answers its purpose excellently, and it incidentally reminds us how fortunate we are that Shakspere belongs to us, and not to the age of Pericles.

The effect of the varying metres, both in tragedy and comedy, and the shades of feeling represented by their transitions, are analyzed and presented with great fulness and an accuracy which is remarkable, considering that technicalities are avoided and English versions are used exclusively for illustration. The varieties of dramatic motives and of the choral odes are described with clearness and detail, and the remarks on the contrasts between these and the modern drama are generally so sound and acute as to tempt one to quotation. We should question the suggestion that the "Hippolytus" is an illustration of "artistic retribution," and that its moral is the *ne quid nimis* even in temperance. The very statement sounds like an absurdity. We doubt, again, whether the Greeks of Pericles's time thought of *Admetus* as a "holy personage," representing the "cause of the religion of hospitable splendor," for which sacred cult and personage *Alcestis* naturally offered her life. The dying speech of *Alcestis* gives not the slightest support to such a notion. The hospitality of *Admetus* is a good reason for the friendship of Apollo and Heracles, and is dwelt upon accordingly. Euripides simply took an old legend, embodying the primitive idea that the Fates must have their victim or a substitute, and made the most of unpromising and difficult material.

The origin of Greek tragedy and comedy, the steps and growth by which they changed their character and put on a modern aspect in the new Attic comedy, in Terence, in Plautus, and in Seneca, are pretty clearly made out as a matter of history, and must always be interesting even when dissected and dried and analyzed to fit the nomenclature of a theory. Mr. Moulton, as we have intimated, is very fond of Mr. Herbert Spencer's ideas and phrases, and notwithstanding all his cleverness—perhaps by dint of cleverness and a great turn for analysis—he has managed to make a rather dry herbarium of his classification of literary species and development. "Choral instability and decomposition of dramatic unity, as lines of development," "Counter tendency to imperfect unity," are expressions which would be less forbidding if they were more accurate. While they wear the austere air of science, it must be remembered that they are based only on analogy and are simply rather stiff and ugly metaphors. For Mr. Moulton seems to forget occasionally that, on the whole, plays are made and do not exactly grow, and that a poet is something more even than a gardener. At one time he speaks of "tendencies" and "cross-tendencies" and "agglutination," of "underplot, embryonic in Sophocles, and complete in Euripides"; at another he uses ordinary language, and calls the prologue and the "miraculous close," *inventions* of Euripides. Would it be any truer to regard the "Alcestis," for example, as a "sport" of the satyric drama which gave rise ultimately to melodrama, than to call it a first experiment and invention of the poet? The fact is, that where we have history, we cannot neglect the personal and creative element; where history fails, the language of evolution answers well enough if we remember that it is based on analogy. The unhistoric growth of literary forms corresponds reasonably well with the unconscious processes of nature; the work of the conscious artist is apt to put the formulas of evolution to confusion.

If Mr. Moulton is too much disposed to wire the flowers of literature into geometrical patterns, we may also complain a little of his passion for categories. This is a failing which perhaps leans to virtue's side. His distinctions are generally clear and well-drawn, but they are sometimes overdrawn. Here, for example, are his varieties of comic wit: "the simple surprise, the reverse surprise, surprise perversion, surprise iterations, comic enumerations, comic persistence"; and these are the ingredients of Aristophanic laughter! Yet, in spite of a certain rigidity of method and a fancy for hard names, there is, we believe, no book in English which exactly fills the place of this survey of the steps by which the Ancient Drama approached and merged into the Modern, none which presents the whole subject more distinctly and accurately, though not always with the charm and sympathetic treatment that the subject deserves.

Under the Cambridge University Extension scheme, Mr. Moulton's lectures were delivered before adult audiences, representing all classes of society, in which not one person in ten would know a word of Greek or Latin. He finds that the ancient classics "rank second only to Shakespeare and Goethe as an attractive subject for lectures." At Newcastle-on-Tyne, his audiences reached a weekly average of over seven hundred, many of whom did regular exercises upon the subject of the lectures and were tested at the end of the course in a formal examination. A recent article in an excellent periodical (the Syracuse *Academy*) advocated the substitution of Anglo-Saxon and early English for the training derived from the Greek and Latin classics. Mr. Moulton's wide experience goes strongly against any such substitution. "The old English writers," he says very truly, "have had less influence in moulding our literature than have Homer and Virgil and the Greek Dramatists. As a practical teacher of literature, I find it almost impossible to give an intelligent grasp of form in Shakespeare to those who are ignorant of Classical Drama."

Another suggestion comes with much weight from an instructor of Mr. Moulton's experience, and may be nearly as much needed with us as it is in English schools and universities. He complains that in practice, study of Latin and Greek is almost exclusively a study of language; that, with the student in the schools and the passmen of the universities, the element of language almost entirely swallows up the element of literature. He reminds us once more that, after all, it is Greek and Roman literature and ideas we are studying, and that the mass of students get little or nothing if they carry away no clear conception of books and authors as a whole. Yet "the ordinary student cannot cover the ground fast enough to compare work with work and author with author." His study of the classics loses all perspective, "tithing the mint and anise and cummin of *oratio obliqua* and the paradigms, but omitting the weightier matters of a poet's conceptions and literary force." To meet this difficulty, various useful expedients, such as extensive sight-reading and private reading, are practised in our best colleges. Mr. Moulton boldly recommends that where a few books of the 'Odyssey,' or a couple of plays, are read in the original, the whole 'Odyssey,' or a group of plays, be prescribed for a study in English, or some course of reading in ancient and English classics combined, of which his appendix contains examples. As to this appendix, we might ask a place in it for Worsley's 'Odyssey,' and we might query whether the 'Epic of Hades' is really an "English classic," and whether the toil and sweat spent in reading it might not advantageously be transferred to the 'Paradise Lost'; and, lastly, we should warn studious readers against Ruskin's 'Queen of the Air,' as a dazzling bubble, blown of so thin and doubtful material that it will mislead more than it can possibly instruct.

In the Footprints of Charles Lamb. By Benjamin Ellis Martin. Illustrated by Herbert Railton and John Fulleylove. With a bibliography by E. D. North. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

A MORE readable book of the sort to which Dr. Martin's belongs does not often come in the way of the reviewer. It is agreeably written, pervaded by a fine literary feeling, and has the touch of personal devotion that often gives a charm to inferior matter. Lamb is an author who is loved by those who care for him at all, and it is the nature of such literary affection to be curious about the small things of the hero's life—where he lived, what he wore, how he conducted himself in his own house, and other such matters of little concern except to those who wish to enjoy the sense of intimacy which only living acquaintance can give in its fulness. Lamb is an excellent subject for writing in this fashion. His personality was interesting, his life had both tragedy and humor in it, some qualities that all men admire mixed with weaknesses which it is mercy to forgive; he was, also, the centre at his own rooms of a notable literary group on the one hand and of a strange collection of odd characters on the other. The man who joked Coleridge and Wordsworth at his ease, and could, as he said, "love a fool," cannot fail to be winning; and yet the story needs that delicate touch of appreciation and understanding which Dr. Martin has successfully given, and given quite naturally, without patronage or preaching. He follows Lamb from lodging to lodging, and, aided by the illustrations of the different houses, has made this rambling journey a kind of narrative; but the substance of the book lies in the successive portraits he draws of Lamb, in the anecdotes he recalls, the scenes from his life that he describes, and in general the filling in of the chapters with a kind of personal reminiscence at second hand. The papers originally appeared in *Scribner's*,

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where our readers may remember them; but they gain very much by being read continuously, and they have been admirably printed and set forth to the eye and hand of the reader.

The Story of My House. By George H. Ellwanger. D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

MR. ELLWANGER has been fortunate in giving his reveries and little essays a local habitation in the house which apparently he never built. He cultivates the literature of sentiment and of rare objects of taste; and the associations of a house, its plan and outlooks, its furnishing and decorations, and artistic pleasures, give an excuse as well as a probability to much that would otherwise seem merely the extravagance of a collector in many fields. An essay on the building of a house, with all its kaleidoscopic possibilities in the way of reform, and its tantalizing successes before the fact, is always interesting; and the author is not niggardly in the good points he means to secure. It is but natural to follow these with a treatise on rugs, full of Orientalism and enthusiasm; on the literary den and the caller, welcome or otherwise; on the cabinets of porcelain, the rare editions on the shelves, the briefly indicated details of the spoils of the chase in their proper place; on the greenhouse, with its curious climate and wonderful botany and odors, about which the author writes with unusual charm and precision; on the dining-room and the dinner, on the one culinary feat that serves as example for perfection, and the salad which, though he mentions it not sadly, required the sacrifice of the fragrant blue violets on the table before its edibility was quite "divine"; and on many other of those topics about which it is agreeable to read if the author is himself sufficiently interested in his task. The outer world is kept in view by means of landscape and weather, and talk about the angler's and the hunter's sport; and quotation, which is an indispensable element in this kind of literature, is frequent, and often affords some excellent bit of verse from out-of-the-way volumes. The book aims only to be agreeable; its literary flavor is pervasive, its sentiment kept well in hand, its interest in curios perhaps a trifle out of proportion; but it has an individuality of its own, and is a pleasing addition to those winter books of the study which have come in the track of the summer books of outdoors and form a little class of their own.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Balzac, H. de. The Chouans. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Bellamy, Blanche W., and Maud W. Goodwin. Open, Sesame. Boston: Ginn & Co. 90 cents.
Charles, C. Honduras. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. $1.50.
De Lagutry, N. Love Conquereth: Poems. Sewanee, Tenn.
Garnett, Prof. J. M. Selections in English Prose from Elizabeth to Victoria (1580–1880). Boston: Ginn & Co.
Harrison, S. F. Pine, Rose, and Fleur de Lis. Toronto: Hart & Co.
Hopkins, T. The Nugents of Carriconna. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.
Hylton, Dr. J. D. The Sea-King. Palmyra, N. J.: J. D. Hylton.
Jonas, C. Bohemian Made Easy. Racine, Wis.: C. Jonas.
Leisure Hour. 1890. Fleming H. Revell. $3.20.
Lesueur, D. The Marriage of Gabrielle. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Lyon, Anne B. No Saint. Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Co. 50 cents.
New York Charities Directory. Charity Organization Society.
Niblack, A. P. The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Nield, T. Oliver Cromwell. The Argyle Press. $1.
Peattie, Elia W. The Judge. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Peyrebrune, G. de Marguerite. The Belford Co. 75 cents.
Phisterer, Col. F. New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1865. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co. $5.
Romance of Real Life. London: Religious Tract Society. $1.40.
Royce, N. K. A Study of Genius. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. $1.25.
Schofield, Dr. A. Health at Home Tracts. London: Religious Tract Society.
Scott, Sir W. Old Mortality. Boston: Ginn & Co. 70 cents.
Stratmann, F. H. A Middle English Dictionary. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
The Secrete Log-Boke of Christopher Columbus. Brentano's.
Willoughby, W. W. The Supreme Court of the United States. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
Wilson, E. L. In Scripture Lands. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.
Wiltse, Sara E. Kindergarten Stories and Morning Talks. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Winter, J. S. He Went for a Soldier. John W. Lovell Co. 25 cents.

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HAVE JUST READY:

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By H. A. TAINE. Translated by John Durand. Vol. I. 12mo, $2.50.

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Peru.

Incidents of travel and exploration in the Land of the Incas. By E. GEORGE SQUIER, M.A. With illustrations. New Edition. 8vo, cloth, $5.00.

Johnston's Shorter History of the United States.

By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Professor in Princeton University. Pp. 340. With maps. Teachers' price, 95 cents; by mail, $1.06.

Adapted to younger pupils and shorter courses than the author's previous 'History of the United States.' Before his lamented death he had written and twice revised the manuscript, and except for a few minor alterations that he would naturally have made in the proofs, the book now appears in the shape in which his hand left it.

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